

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

TO

THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

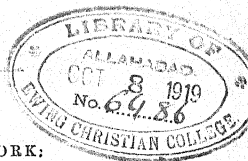
BY

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REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

VOLUME I.

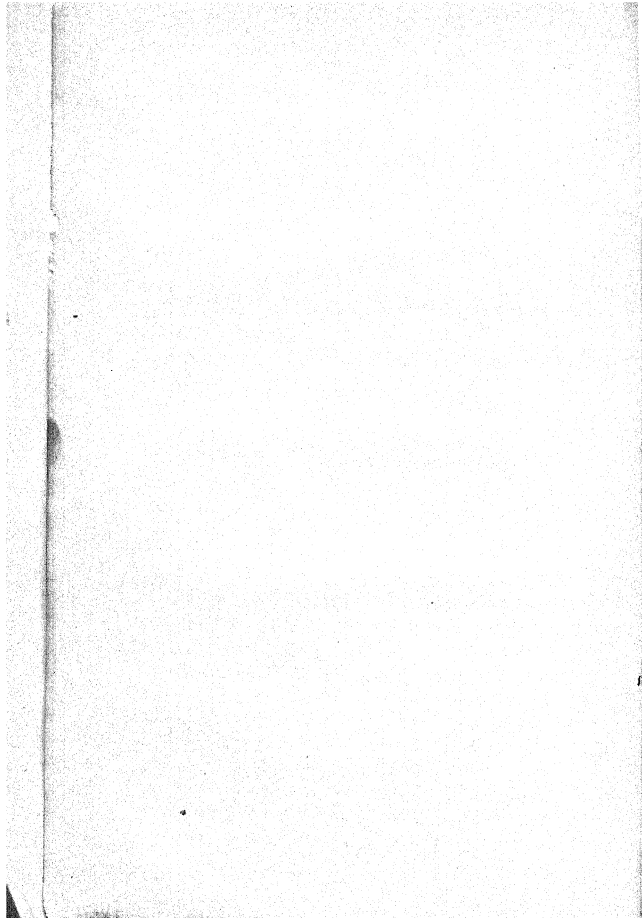


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## PREFACE.

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LARGE extracts being made in these volumes from the despatches of the Spanish ambassadors residing at the court of Elizabeth, it is necessary for me to say briefly to what extent I consider those despatches worthy of credit. Foreign ministers in England or elsewhere are not usually admitted to domestic secrets of state. Their private information is generally imperfect; they are often purposely deceived; and their reports at all times, if unsupported by other evidence, must be received with hesitation and distrust. To a large extent these considerations will qualify the belief which we can give to the letters of the Count de Feria, the Bishop of Aquila, and their successors; but there were circumstances in the position of the representatives of Philip the Second, which gave them unusual opportunities of knowing the truth, while at the same time exact information was of especial importance to their master. At the accession of Elizabeth, three fourths of the population of England, a third of the Privy Council, and a large minority of the lay Peers, were opposed to the alteration of religion. When the Queen had declared for the Reformation,

it was to Philip that the Catholics looked for advice and support; and it was the chief duty of his ambassadors to keep the party together, and to communicate to them the wishes of the court of Spain. The more moderate of Mary's ministers who were retained upon the Council, were Philip's personal friends, and were in receipt of pensions from the Spanish Crown; while Philip again at the outset of his reign was Elizabeth's single foreign ally, and the necessity of keeping on good terms with her brother-in-law, which no one felt more acutely than Elizabeth herself, obliged her to treat his ministers with exceptional confidence.

For these reasons I think it likely that the Spanish ambassadors possessed sources of information which the representatives of foreign states are usually without. I think that no deception could have been long practised upon them by either party in the Council, which would not have been betrayed by the other. They write at all times with a certain mastery of the situation; and in no instance, where their statements can be tested by other criteria, have I found them to have been seriously mistaken.

The Spanish archives are preserved in admirable order in the Castle of Simancas, a state fortress eight miles from the city of Valladolid. The courtesy of the Madrid Government gave me unrestricted access to every document in the collection; and I take the opportunity of acknowledging gratefully the attention and assistance which I received from the Archivoro, Don Manuel Gonzalez. I desire also to express my

obligations to the accomplished Count de Laborde, who has the care of the Imperial Archives at Paris ; to the keepers of the MSS. in the Imperial Library ; and to Mr. Hardy, Mr. Brewer, and Mr. Gairdner, in the English Record Office. Nor can I omit to mention the late Mr. Turnbull, who, before the intolerance of a part of the religious world deprived the country of his services, was also employed in the Record Office, on the Calendar of the Elizabethan State Papers. Mr. Turnbull could have felt no sympathy with the work in which I was engaged ; but he spared no pains to be of use to me : and in admitting me to a share of his private room, enabled me to witness the ability and integrity with which he discharged his own duties.

A further and most important assistance I have received from the Marquis of Salisbury, who has permitted me to examine the private papers of Lord Burleigh, which are preserved at Hatfield. It is impossible to overrate the value of these documents. To know at any given conjuncture the opinion of Sir William Cecil upon it, is to know all which any modern inquirer is likely to arrive at. A large portion of the earlier Cecil papers are in the Record Office, or in the British Museum ; and so far as the history has been at present carried, the information which I have derived from the Hatfield collection, though most important in itself, is in extent comparatively small. If I live to continue my work, and the same permission is kindly continued to me, it will be of inestimable moment.

The frontispiece is from a miniature in the collection

of the Duke of Buccleuch, who has been good enough to allow it to be engraved.

I have made an alteration in the form of the book, for which I must request the indulgence of the public. The accession of Elizabeth is the commencement of a new epoch in the history of the Reformation. There may be persons who, having gone so far with me, may not care to accompany me further; others may be interested in the later and brighter period, who may not care to encumber themselves with the earlier volumes: while the story therefore is continued without interruption, I have made the present publication the commencement as it were of a second work; and the portion already before the world will be made complete as soon as possible, by the addition of an Index.

J. A. F.

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII.

### CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Accession of Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	1
Popular Unanimity . . . . .	3
Death of Cardinal Pole . . . . .	4
Condition of the Finances . . . . .	5
Social Changes . . . . .	7
State of Parties . . . . .	8
Effect on the Nation of the Marian Persecution . . . . .	10
Creed of Elizabeth . . . . .	12
Mission of the Count de Feria . . . . .	13
Sir William Cecil . . . . .	14
The Privy Council at Hatfield . . . . .	15
Address of the Queen . . . . .	16
The Court removes to London . . . . .	17
Changes in the Council . . . . .	18
Proposals for Ecclesiastical Reform submitted to Cecil . . . . .	20
Opinion of Goodrich . . . . .	21
Final Resolution . . . . .	25
Revision of Edward's Prayer-book . . . . .	27
Anxiety of the Spanish Ambassador . . . . .	27
The Queen's Marriage . . . . .	28
The Conference at Cercamp . . . . .	30
Proposal for a Secret Peace with France . . . . .	33
Philip offers his Hand to Elizabeth . . . . .	36
The Coronation . . . . .	40
Opening of Parliament . . . . .	42
Elizabeth's Statesmen . . . . .	43
Speech from the Throne . . . . .	46
The Subsidy . . . . .	50
The Commons request the Queen to marry . . . . .	51

	PAGE
Answer of Elizabeth . . . . .	52
The Supremacy Bill . . . . .	54
Protest of Convocation against the Alteration of Religion	56
Speech of the Archbishop of York . . . . .	57
Elizabeth declines to marry Philip . . . . .	58
National Defences and State of the Navy . . . . .	59
Calais . . . . .	60
Peace concluded with France . . . . .	66
Speeches in Parliament on the Supremacy Bill . . . . .	68
Reports of De Feria . . . . .	70
Lady Catherine Grey . . . . .	72
Theological Controversy at Westminster . . . . .	75
The Supremacy is reannexed to the Crown . . . . .	78
De Feria and Philip . . . . .	79
The Church of England . . . . .	81
Restoration of the English Prayer-book . . . . .	83
Embarrassment of Philip . . . . .	85
De Feria leaves England . . . . .	87
Lord Robert Dudley . . . . .	88

## CHAPTER II.

The Clergy and the Reformation . . . . .	90
The Bishops refuse the Oath of Supremacy . . . . .	93
Alvarez de Quadra, Bishop of Aquila, comes to England in the Place of De Feria . . . . .	93
Letter of De Quadra to Philip . . . . .	98
The Queen's Suitors . . . . .	98
Remonstrances of Philip . . . . .	102
Relations with Scotland . . . . .	103
The Scotch Reformation . . . . .	104
John Knox . . . . .	105
Burning of Walter Milne . . . . .	109
Mary Stuart assumes the English Arms and Style . . . . .	109
Outbreak at Perth . . . . .	118
Knox preaches at St. Andrew's . . . . .	117
Destruction of the Abbeys . . . . .	119
The Scots apply to England for Help . . . . .	120
Proposed Marriage of the Earl of Arran and Elizabeth . . . . .	121
Cecil encourages the Scots . . . . .	123

Death of the King of France . . . . .	126
Designs of France upon the English Crown . . . . .	127
Dilemma of Elizabeth . . . . .	128
Letter of Knox . . . . .	130
The Scotch Protestants are dispersed . . . . .	132
Advice of Cecil to them . . . . .	134
Arguments for and against Interference in Scotland . . . . .	136
Sir Ralph Sadler is sent to the Border with Money . . . . .	139
The Earl of Arran in England . . . . .	140
Temper of the Scots . . . . .	141
Elizabeth, to humour the Spaniards, gives Hopes that she will marry the Archduke Charles of Austria . . . . .	145
Elizabeth and De Quadra . . . . .	147
The Crucifix is replaced in the Royal Chapel . . . . .	149
De Quadra's Opinion of the Queen . . . . .	150
The English Nobility in Favour of the Austrian Marriage . . . . .	153
Arran returns to Scotland . . . . .	154
Elizabeth threatens France . . . . .	157
Preparations for War . . . . .	158
Weakness of the Scotch Protestants . . . . .	160
Debate in the English Council . . . . .	162
Plan for a Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland . . . . .	163
Opinions of the Spanish Minister as to Elizabeth's Pros- pects . . . . .	165
Uncertainty in England . . . . .	167
Sir Nicholas Bacon declares against Interference . . . . .	168
Elizabeth determines to persevere, and the English Fleet sails for the Forth . . . . .	173
Letters of De Quadra . . . . .	175
Consecration of Archbishop Parker . . . . .	179

### CHAPTER III.

Difficulties of the Court of Spain . . . . .	181
Elizabeth again hesitates . . . . .	183
D'Oysel with the French Army invades Fife . . . . .	185
Influence of Cecil . . . . .	187
A French Fleet, going with Reinforcements to Leith, is lost in a Storm . . . . .	188
Admiral Winter arrives in the Forth . . . . .	190



	PAGE
The French Transports on the Coast of Fife are destroyed	191
Escape of D'Oysel . . . . .	192
Philip proposes to send a Spanish Force into Scotland . . . . .	198
Conference at Berwick . . . . .	201
Fresh Alliance between Elizabeth and the Scotch Protestants . . . . .	202
Naval Preparations of England . . . . .	206
Despair of the Catholics . . . . .	207
De Quadra urges Philip to interfere in England . . . . .	209
The Conspiracy of Amboise . . . . .	210
Uncertain Humour of the Northern English Counties . . . . .	213
Mission of the Bishop of Valence . . . . .	216
The English Army enters Scotland . . . . .	216
Their cold Reception . . . . .	218
Skirmish at Leith . . . . .	219
An Armistice and fresh Efforts of Diplomacy . . . . .	219
Menaces of Philip . . . . .	221
Elizabeth refuses to recall her Troops . . . . .	226
Distrust of the Scots . . . . .	229
Situation of the French . . . . .	230
Siege of Leith . . . . .	234
Frauds in the English Army . . . . .	236
Unsuccessful Assault of Leith . . . . .	237
Despondency of Elizabeth . . . . .	240
Religious Disturbances in France . . . . .	244
Distress of the Garrison in Leith . . . . .	245
Cecil goes to Scotland . . . . .	246
Elizabeth and a Papal Nuncio . . . . .	248
Death of Mary of Lorraine . . . . .	255
Conference at Edinburgh . . . . .	256
The Treaty of Leith and the Departure of the French . . . . .	263
General Results of the War . . . . .	267
Position of the King of Spain . . . . .	269

## CHAPTER IV.

Return of Cecil to the Court . . . . .	272
Ecclesiastical Character of the Reformation in Scotland . . . . .	275
The Confession of Faith . . . . .	276
Dissatisfaction in England . . . . .	278

	PAGE
The Scotch Estates request Elizabeth in Form to marry the	
Earl of Arran . . . . .	278
Cecil is out of Favour with Elizabeth . . . . .	280
He proposes to retire from the Public Service . . . . .	282
Relations between the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley . . . . .	284
Communication of Cecil to De Quadra . . . . .	285
Death of Lady Dudley . . . . .	286
Inquest at Cumnor . . . . .	291
Suspicion of Foul Play . . . . .	293
Subsequent Declaration of Lady Dudley's Half-Brother . . . . .	295
General Expectation that the Queen will marry Lord Robert Dudley . . . . .	297
Opinion of Lord Sussex . . . . .	300
Fresh Dangers from France . . . . .	302
Sir N. Throgmorton protests against the Dudley Marriage . . . . .	304
Death of Francis the Second . . . . .	307
Elizabeth declines the Earl of Arran . . . . .	308
Resentment of the Scots . . . . .	309
State of Parties in France . . . . .	309
Projected Catholic League . . . . .	313
Secret Advances through Sir Henry Sidney are made to the Spanish Ambassador . . . . .	316
The Queen and the Dudley Marriage . . . . .	319
Advice of Lord Paget . . . . .	324
The Queen of Scots and her Subjects . . . . .	325
Parties in Scotland . . . . .	330
Advances of Lord R. Dudley to the Spanish Ambassador . . . . .	333
Interview between Elizabeth and De Quadra . . . . .	334
The House of Lennox . . . . .	336
Elizabeth is invited to admit a Nuncio from the Pope . . . . .	338
Conditions on which Elizabeth will take Part in a General Council . . . . .	342
Philip and Lord Robert Dudley . . . . .	344
Refusal to admit the Nuncio . . . . .	350
The Burning of St. Paul's . . . . .	352
A Water Party on the Thames . . . . .	356
Addresses of the Scots to Mary Stuart . . . . .	359
Lord James Stuart invites Elizabeth to recognize Mary Stuart as her Heir-Presumptive . . . . .	360
Mary Stuart refuses to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh . . . . .	362

	PAGE
She prepares to return to Scotland . . . . .	364
Letter of Elizabeth to the Scotch Estates . . . . .	365
Mary Stuart sails from Calais . . . . .	369
Consequences expected from her Return . . . . .	371

## CHAPTER V.

Mary Stuart lands at Leith . . . . .	374
Her Welcome to Holyrood . . . . .	375
Interview with Knox . . . . .	376
The Scots agree to support her Claims on the English Succession . . . . .	378
Proposed Marriage of Mary Stuart with Lord Darnley . . . . .	379
Lady Catherine Grey is found to have been married secretly to Lord Hertford . . . . .	381
The Treaty of Edinburgh remains unratified . . . . .	383
Protestant Riots . . . . .	384
Suggestion of an Interview between the two Queens . . . . .	386
The Conference at Poissy . . . . .	390
The Huguenots at Paris . . . . .	392
Elizabeth and Lord Robert Dudley . . . . .	393
Apostasy of the King of Navarre . . . . .	394
Uncertain Attitude of Philip . . . . .	395
Lady Margaret Lennox . . . . .	396
The Duke of Guise . . . . .	400
The Massacre of Vassy . . . . .	401
Civil War in France . . . . .	402
Sir N. Throgmorton entreats Elizabeth to support the Huguenots . . . . .	403
The Bishop of Aquila and his Secretary . . . . .	407
Discovery of Catholic Intrigues in England . . . . .	407
The Recognition of the Queen of Scots . . . . .	415
Conspiracy of Arran and Bothwell . . . . .	417
Elizabeth desires the Interview with the Queen of Scots . . . . .	420
Opposition of Sir N. Bacon . . . . .	421
Probable Coalition of the Catholic Powers . . . . .	423
The Interview is abandoned . . . . .	427
The Laws against the Catholics are enforced more strictly . . . . .	429
The Civil War in France . . . . .	430

	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>The Prince of Condé offers Havre to Elizabeth as the Price of Assistance . . . . .</b>	<b>431</b>
<b>Alliance between Elizabeth and Condé . . . . .</b>	<b>433</b>
<b>Want of Sincerity on both Sides. . . . .</b>	<b>435</b>
<b>The English occupy Havre . . . . .</b>	<b>435</b>
<b>Siege of Rouen . . . . .</b>	<b>436</b>
<b>Conspiracy of the Poles . . . . .</b>	<b>439</b>
<b>Elizabeth is attacked by Small-pox . . . . .</b>	<b>439</b>
<b>Philip requires Elizabeth to abstain from Interference in France. . . . .</b>	<b>442</b>
<b>Death of the King of Navarre, and the Fall of Rouen . . . . .</b>	<b>445</b>
<b>Condé takes the Field . . . . .</b>	<b>447</b>
<b>Unsuccessful Negotiation for Peace . . . . .</b>	<b>448</b>
<b>The Battle of Dreux . . . . .</b>	<b>451</b>
<b>Expedition of Mary Stuart to Inverness . . . . .</b>	<b>456</b>
<b>Battle of Corriche Burn . . . . .</b>	<b>459</b>
<b>Mary Stuart again demands her Recognition . . . . .</b>	<b>463</b>

## CHAPTER VI.

<b>Reform of the English Currency . . . . .</b>	<b>465</b>
<b>Condition of England . . . . .</b>	<b>471</b>
<b>Character of Cecil . . . . .</b>	<b>472</b>
<b>Social Disorganization . . . . .</b>	<b>473</b>
<b>State of the Clergy . . . . .</b>	<b>474</b>
<b>Deans and Chapters . . . . .</b>	<b>476</b>
<b>Ruinous Condition of the Parish Churches . . . . .</b>	<b>477</b>
<b>Temper of the Country Clergy . . . . .</b>	<b>480</b>
<b>Difficulties of the Bishops . . . . .</b>	<b>481</b>
<b>The English Catholics apply to the Pope for Permission to attend the English Service . . . . .</b>	<b>482</b>
<b>The Request is Refused . . . . .</b>	<b>484</b>
<b>Sir N. Throgmorton is taken Prisoner by the Duke of Guise . . . . .</b>	<b>486</b>
<b>The English Catholics are threatened with Persecution . . . . .</b>	<b>489</b>
<b>Meeting of Parliament . . . . .</b>	<b>490</b>
<b>Debate on the Succession . . . . .</b>	<b>493</b>
<b>Penal Laws against the Catholics . . . . .</b>	<b>495</b>
<b>Petition to the Queen to name a Successor . . . . .</b>	<b>498</b>
<b>Trial of Bonner . . . . .</b>	<b>502</b>
<b>Story of Châtelar . . . . .</b>	<b>505</b>

	PAGE
Murder of the Duke of Guise . . . . .	506
Proposed Marriage between Mary Stuart and Don Carlos . . . . .	509
Elizabeth wishes her to marry Lord Robert Dudley . . . . .	511
Speech of the Queen in Parliament . . . . .	513
Proceedings of Convocation . . . . .	515
The Civil War in France is brought to an End . . . . .	518
Elizabeth refuses to evacuate Havre . . . . .	519
War with France . . . . .	522
Siege of Havre . . . . .	523
The Plague attacks the Garrison . . . . .	524
Surrender of Havre . . . . .	528
The Plague in London . . . . .	530
Philip consents to the Marriage between the Queen of Scots and Don Carlos . . . . .	532
Death of De Quadra . . . . .	538
The Marriage of the Queen of Scots with a safe Person is made a Condition of her Recognition . . . . .	539
Knox protests against her Marriage with a Catholic . . . . .	542
He sends Warning to Cecil . . . . .	544
Elizabeth again attempts to work on the Queen of Scots . . . . .	548
The Carlos Project cools . . . . .	549
Relations between England and Spain . . . . .	550

## CHAPTER I.

QUEEN MARY ceased to breathe an hour before daylight on Thursday the 17th of November. <sup>1558.</sup>  
Parliament opened as usual at eight for the <sup>Nov. 17.</sup> morning session, when a message from the Peers required the immediate presence of the Commons. As they appeared at the bar of the Upper House, the Chancellor, Archbishop Heath, rose and said —

“The cause of your calling hither at this time is to signify to you that all the lords here present are certainly certified that God this present morning hath called to His mercy our late Sovereign Lady Queen Mary; which loss, as it is most heavy and grievous to us, so have we no less cause another way to rejoice with praise to Almighty God, for that He hath left unto us a true lawful and right inheritress to the crown of this realm, which is the Lady Elizabeth, second daughter to our late Sovereign Lord of noble memory King Henry the Eighth and sister to our late said queen; of whose most lawful right and title in the succession of the Crown, thanks be to God! we need not to doubt. Wherefore the lords of this House have determined, with your assents and consents, to pass from hence to the palace, and there to proclaim the said Lady Elizabeth Queen of this realm without further tract of time.”

The Commons answered; “God save Queen Elizabeth! long may she reign over us!” The vacancy of

the throne had dissolved parliament; and at once, while it was still morning, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Shrewsbury, and Lord Bedford rode through London with the heralds, making known from Palace Yard to the Tower the change which had passed over the realm.

The proclamation had been sketched in haste by Sir William Cecil. It declared Elizabeth "the only right heir by blood and lawful succession," and charged all persons of every degree, under pain of the new Queen's indignation, to keep themselves quiet, and under no pretence to break the order of the established law.

In the sudden snapping of the chain which had bound them there was a fear that the citizens might be tempted into dangerous excesses.

But for a moment the past was forgotten in the present. The bells which six years before had rung in triumph for Mary's accession, now pealed as merrily for her death. The voices which had shouted themselves hoarse in execrations on Northumberland were now as loud in ecstasy that the miserable reign was at an end. Through the November day steeple answered steeple; the streets were spread with tables, and as the twilight closed, blazed as before with bonfires. The black dominion of priests and priestcraft had rolled away, like night before the coming of the dawn. Elizabeth, the people's idol, dear to them for her sister's hatred, the morning star of England's hope, was Queen.

So deep had been the indignation at the Smithfield cruelties, so intense the national humiliation at the loss of Calais, that Catholics and Protestants forgot their animosities in the prospect of change. Elizabeth was the favourite daughter of Henry, whose character she

was supposed to inherit, and whose reign was the last bright spot on which the nation looked back with pride. The Reformers saw in her their child and pupil, whose life had all but paid the forfeit of her fidelity to their instructions; in her ultimate submission and conformity the orthodox found a guarantee that they need not fear from her a return to revolutionary fanaticism; while, as Philip had declared in her favour, the Conservative peers and statesmen, who inherited the national traditions, supported her as the best security for the maintenance of the Spanish alliance and for the protection of the country against foreign invasion. One rival only possessed claims which would bear inspection. But Mary Stuart was Dauphiness of France. In the possible eventual union of the crowns of Scotland, France, and England, the politicians of Spain and the Low Countries saw their own ruin; and even in religion, however uncertain they might feel as to her real convictions, Elizabeth seemed preferable to the daughter-in-law of the sovereign who had fostered Wyatt's insurrection, and taught every Catholic in the realm to fear and hate him. Philip therefore having failed to secure the entail of the crown for himself, had signified his desire, through the Count de Feria, for the undisputed succession of his sister-in-law. And though Philip had left behind him no single personal friend, his position as England's solitary ally, as the most powerful sovereign in Europe, and as the most faithful servant of the Church, gave him still weight in the council, and an authority almost absolute among the sincere and earliest Catholics.<sup>1</sup>

All parties  
unite in  
Elizabeth's  
favour.

<sup>1</sup> "No tiene su Majestad en todo el Reyno hombre á su devocion, pero la parte de los Católicos entiende todavia que el bien y conservacion de la religion consiste en la ayuda y asistencia que su Majestad les quisiese hacer, en la qual parece que van colocando todas sus esperanças y remedio."



Elizabeth herself he trusted that he could bind by gratitude, if not by a closer tie.<sup>1</sup> That a young unmarried woman in a situation so critical should choose a course and policy of her own was the one possibility which neither he nor any one else anticipated. Her conduct, he naturally supposed, would be dictated by the husband to whom she would immediately be allied; and the choice of the person he conceived to rest with himself.

Alone among the Catholic leaders, Reginald Pole shared the ineradicable suspicion with which Elizabeth had been regarded by her sister. But Pole was on his death-bed when Mary died. Among the last sounds which fell upon his ears must have been the bells of Westminster ringing the knell of the cause to which he had sacrificed his life; and before the evening he too had passed away—a blighted, brokenhearted man, detested by those whom he had laboured most anxiously to serve.<sup>2</sup> Singled out, in connexion with Bon-

Porque entienden si el Rey de Francia metiese aqui el pie, se perderia lo espiritual y temporal del Reyno, porque saben que no curarian sino de desfrutarlos y traerlos en su sugesion, sin atender á lo de la religion."—*Memorial del Conde de Feria: MS. Simancas.*

"Los Católicos que hay en este Reyno, que son muchos tienen puesta toda su esperanza en V. M<sup>d.</sup>, y es cosa estraña la cuenta que tienen con saber que hago yo: y quando el negocio hubiese de venir á los manos V. M<sup>d.</sup> tendra esta parte por suya, porque piensan que seran perdidos si el Rey de Francia mete aqui el pié."—De Feria to Philip, Jan. 31, 1559: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> The recent connexion between the English Protestants and the Court of France was so considerable, and so notorious, that Philip attempted to make Elizabeth suspicious of them by dwelling upon it. "Mirad si convendria decir tan bien á la Reyna que tenga sospechosa á la parte de los ereges, porque con aquellos tienen mas platica los Franceses, y confian mas dellos: y que los Católicos nunca se fiéran de Franceses."—Philip to de Feria, Feb.: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> "Murió á noche. El día que falleció su Maj<sup>d.</sup> sus criados pusieron mala guarda para encubrilla la muerte de la Reyna, y la pena que recibió creó que abrevió la suya. Dios le hizo misericordia en llevarle, y V. M<sup>d.</sup>

ner, for the especial aversion of the new Queen, he was taken away in mercy to escape a second exile, or the living death of the Tower.<sup>1</sup>

Thus it was that Elizabeth was welcomed to the throne without a dissentient voice, and perhaps without a dissentient heart, save only among the fanatic ecclesiastics, whose bloody work was at an end. And yet her position was beyond example difficult; difficult at the best — more difficult tenfold, if she cared to act on any deeper principle than the immediate expediency of the moment.

*The difficulties of Elizabeth's position.*

Statesmen who remembered the resources at the command of Henry the Eighth when, twenty years before, he had built fortresses round the coast out of the spoils of the monasteries, and had replied to the menaced coalition between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First by calling the united nation under arms, must have felt mournfully how keen was the contrast with the ruined inheritance of his daughter.

The war in which Henry's reign had closed had left a legacy of debt behind it, for which the capture of Boulogne had poorly compensated. The minority of Edward had been a time of mere thriftless waste and plunder, while east, west, north, and south the nation had been shaken by civil commotions. The economy with which Mary had commenced had been sacrificed to superstition, and what the hail had left the locusts had eaten. She had brought herself to believe that the confiscation of the abbey lands had forfeited the favour of heaven; and

*Embarrassment of the finances.*

perdió muy poco en el." — *De Feria to Philip: MS. Simancas.* . . . "¡Pate maldito Cardinal," de Feria calls him elsewhere. — *De Feria to Philip: MS. Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> "Con el Cardinal (la Reyna) esta malisimamente y comenzó na a contar los enojos que la habia hecho." — *Ibid*

stripping the already embarrassed crown of half its remaining revenues to reëstablish the clergy, she had sacrificed, at the same time, the interests of England to her affection for her husband, and forced the nation into a war in which they had neither object to gain nor injury to redress. She had extorted subsidies only to encounter shame and defeat; and in the midst of the general exasperation at the disgrace which had fallen upon England, she had allowed Philip to avail himself of the scanty revenues of the treasury, and had made him a present of unknown thousands of pounds, with valuable jewels of the crown.<sup>1</sup>

Although the country was financially ruined, there was still the land, and there were still the people to fall back upon; but in the last two sad years, famine and plague had been added to other causes of suffering, and the long gaps in the muster rolls told a fearful tale of the ravages which they had made. The revolt of the commons under Edward had led also to a general disarmament. The art of war was changing; and the English peasantry, so far from having been taught the use of harquebuss and pistol, were no longer familiar even with their own bows and bills. Themselves untrained and undrilled, their natural leaders the young men of family had been entangled one side or other in rebellion or conspiracy, and had been executed or driven into exile. The nobility were scanty and weak. The new owners of the soil, the

Critical position of England.  
<sup>1</sup> "Se quejó Isabel al Conde de Feria que sabia que el Rey se le habia dado grandes sumas de dinero. Contradijó lo el conde pero en el hecho era verdad que la Reyna Maria le habia dado de una vez siete mil libras y algunas joyas de valor para pagar ciertas tropas Alemanas." — De Feria to Philip, November 21: *MS. Simancas*.

It was believed in London, that shortly before her death Mary had sent Philip as much as 200,000 ducats.

middle classes who had risen to wealth on the dissolution of the monasteries, were unwarlike men of business, given merely to sheep farming and making money. The peasantry hated them as the chief enclosers of the commons; the crown and the lords despised them as the creation of a new age; while as evading in all ways the laws of military tenure, and regarding their estates as a commercial speculation for the building up of their private fortunes, they were looked on by the Englishmen of the old order of things as poisonous mushrooms, the unwholesome out-come of the diseases of the age.

"The wealth of the meaner sort," wrote some Tory correspondent of Sir William Cecil, "is the very fount of rebellion, the occasion of their insolence, of the contempt of the nobility, and of the hatred they have conceived against them. It must be cured by keeping them in awe through the severity of justice, and by providing as it were of some sewers or channels to draw and suck from them their money by subtle and indirect means."<sup>1</sup>

Social  
changes;  
growth of a  
middle class.

On all sides the ancient organization of the country was out of joint. The fortresses from Berwick to Falmouth, although in the preceding summer some faint efforts had been made to repair them, were half in ruins, dismantled, and ungarrisoned. The Tower was as empty of arms as the treasury of money. The volunteer fleet which had been called together for the ineffectual demonstration against Brest was scattered; and thus bare of the very necessities for self-defence, the Queen found herself with a war upon her hands

<sup>1</sup> "The distresses of the Commonwealth, with the means to remedy them, addressed to the Lords of the Council, Dec., 1558": *Domestic MS., Eliz., Vol. I.*

which the experience of Crêpy made her fear that she might be left to endure alone, with Calais lost, the French in full possession of Scotland, where they were fast transporting an army, and with a rival claimant to her crown whose right by the letter of the law was better than her own.<sup>1</sup>

Her position and the position of England were summed up in a few pregnant sentences.

Summary of the condition of England. "The Queen poor; the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed; good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order; justice not executed; all things dear; excesses in meat, diet, and apparel; division among ourselves; war with France; the French king bestriding the realm, having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends."<sup>2</sup>

Beyond all these political difficulties and at the heart and root of them, lay the differences of religion. The alternate supremacy of the two extreme parties had taught the nation to loathe them equally. Yet men were in that strange state that they still believed in the necessity of some defined conviction. They believed it still to be their duty to profess, as a Christian people, a national creed, while yet there was no third

<sup>1</sup> "The wars have consumed our captains, men, money, victuals, and have lost Calais. The axe and the gallows have taken away some of our captains. It is necessary, that in every shire at the towns' charge, there might be discipline and exercises used to prepare and frame the rude men into captains and soldiers, to serve in case of need. All other plagues that before and since the death of good King Edward have happened unto us, have been in respect tolerable, and as it were but preludes of one great and grievous plague to come. The loss of Calais is the beginning of the same great plague, for it has introduced the French king within the threshold of our house; so as now or else never your honours must bestir you and meet with this mischief. Else, if God start not forth to the helm, we be at the point of greatest misery that can happen to any people, which is to become thrall to a foreign nation." — Address to the Council: *Domestic MS.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

form of opinion visible to them on which they could rest with security. Happily there was one point on which, with but few exceptions, all sides were united — the dread and hatred of those ecclesiastical tribunals whose yoke had been broken by Henry, and who had so fearfully abused their recovered power.

A bishop's chancellor sitting in court and proceeding *ex-officio*, unrestrained by statute or common law, and enabled at all times to command the services of the secular arm, was the incarnate representative of iniquity. No fireside was safe from the intrusion of his familiars. No act no word was so innocent but that it could be construed into a crime; and the conduct of the priests in the three last years showed that they had learnt from their humiliations only a lesson of revenge. Towards them and their doings there was no doubt at all of the feeling of the English laity. As it had been in the days of Cromwell so it remained — an irrepressible detestation and scorn.

Here however unanimity was at an end. The secular power of the priesthood was no necessary adjunct of the Catholic faith. The accession of Mary had found the new opinions equally dishonoured by tyranny; and if the reaction had not stained itself with crimes beside which the iniquities of the Duke of Northumberland looked pale, the profession of Protestantism as a positive creed would have been confined to a minority, strong in the fire and force of their convictions, but numerically small and politically weak. But the fanaticism of the Catholic clergy had discredited their doctrines and forfeited for them the confidence of moderate and reasonable men. They had clutched so passionately at the

The church  
courts once  
more.

Effects of  
clerical ad-  
ministra-  
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The church courts once more.

Effects of clerical administration.



privileges to which they pretended that their theories entitled them, they had betrayed so incautiously their unslaked thirst for power, for wealth, for blood, that the world was taking them at their word, and judging the tree by its fruits. Their foreign policy had been as unfortunate as their domestic administration had been cruel. A blight as if from heaven had rested on them and their deeds; and thus the teaching of the Reformers which had passed away like a dream was beginning again to find its way into men's minds. The figures of the murdered Cranmer and his fellow-sufferers stood out against the dark background of those wretched times as the victims of an accursed tyranny; and with the halo of martyrdom shining round them, they became silent preachers of righteousness, more effective in death than in life. While again the reformed opinions had this advantage, equivalent at the bottom of it to certain eventual victory, — however men might argue and wrangle, however they might persuade themselves that they believed what they did not believe, — Catholicism had ceased to be the expression of the true conviction of sensible men on the relation between themselves and heaven. Credible to the student in the cloister, credible to those whose thoughts were but echoes of tradition, it was not credible any more to men of active and original vigour of understanding. Credible to the uneducated, the eccentric, the imaginative, the superstitious; credible to those who reasoned by sentiment, and made syllogisms of their passions, it was incredible then and ever more to the sane and healthy intelligence which in the long run commands the mind of the world.

In the long run — yet the force which eventually maintains the ascendancy is the slowest in rising to it

The strongest nations are the most reluctant to change, and in England especially, opinions, customs, laws, hold their ground because they exist, although their logical defences may have long crumbled to pieces, and their warmest friends may have long ceased to plead for them. Healthy people live and think more by habit than by reason, and it is only at rare intervals that they are content to submit their institutions to theoretic revision. The interval of change under Edward the Sixth had not shaken the traditionary attachment of the English squires and peasantry to the service of their ancestors. The Protestants were confined chiefly to the great towns and seaports; and those who deprecated doctrinal alteration, either Humour of the English laity. from habit, prudence, or the mere instinct of conservatism, still constituted two-thirds, perhaps three-fourths of the entire people.<sup>1</sup> They were willing to resume the tenths and first-fruits which Mary had restored, to revise the relations with the Pope, to suppress the reëstablished monasteries; a cautious adviser suggested that it might be even possible to expel the bishops from the House of Lords, take from them their palaces, their lands, their titles, and reduce them to stipendiaries of the crown:<sup>2</sup> yet the same writer thought it eminently dangerous to meddle with the established creed.

<sup>1</sup> "In perusing the sentences of the Justices of the Peace in all counties of the realm, scanty a third part was found fully assured to be trusted in the matter of religion." — *Note on the State of the Realm, in the hand of Sir William Cecil: Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> "Peradventure it was not amiss as the time and things would suffer, to take from all your bishops the titles of lords, with their places in Parliament, remitting them to the House of Convocation, with all their temporal lands and stately houses — to give to the archbishops a thousand pounds per annum in specialties out of the shire where they reside — to the bishops a thousand marks per annum in specialties — and the temporalities to be given to noblemen having need of the same." — *Distresses of the Commonwealth, December, 1558: MS. Domestic, Eliz., Rolls House.*

Such was the condition of England, and such the humour of the English people, when Elizabeth a young untried woman of twenty-five was intrusted with their destiny. Every course open to her was beset with objections. She could not stand still, she could move in no direction without offence to some one; and she herself in her own internal uncertainties was a type of the people whom she was set to rule. She had been educated in a confused Protestantism which had evaded doctrinal difficulties, and had confined itself chiefly to anathemas of Rome. Left to herself on her father's death, while the Anglican divines had developed into Calvinism, Elizabeth had inclined to Luther and the Augsburg Confession. For herself she would have been contented to accept the formulas which had been left by her father, with an English ritual, and the communion service of the first prayer-book of Edward the Sixth. But the sacramentarian tendencies of English Protestant theology had destroyed Henry's standing ground as a position which the Reformers could be brought to accept. It was to deny transubstantiation that the martyrs had died. It was in the name and in defence of the mass that Mary and Pole had exercised their savage despotism. Elizabeth had borne her share of persecution; she resented with the whole force of her soul the indignities to which she had been exposed, and she sympathized with those who had suffered at her side. She was the idol of the young, the restless, the enthusiastic; her name had been identified with freedom; and she detested more sincerely than any theologian living, the perversity which treated opinion as a crime. In her speculative theories she was nearer to Rome than to Calvinism. In her vital convictions she represented the free proud

Creed of  
Elizabeth.

spirit of the educated laity, who would endure no dictation from priests of either persuasion, and so far as lay in them, would permit no clergy any more to fetter the thoughts and paralyse the energies of England.

With such views it was impossible for her to sanction permanently the establishment of a doctrine from which the noblest of her subjects had revolted, or to alienate the loyalty of the party who in her hour of danger had been her most ardent friends.

What she would do those most interested conjectured by their wishes. The Protestants expected a good time when they could score out their wrongs on Bonner and Harpsfeld, and have their crusade against idolatry. Philip of Spain flattered himself that Elizabeth, whatever her wishes, would recognise her weakness, lean for support on him and his friends, and by a convenient marriage be secured to the Catholic confederacy. He had sent the Count de Feria to be at her side at the crisis of her accession, and it is clear that he entertained no sort of misgiving that she would not act as he might dictate or desire.

De Feria himself thought otherwise. Connected by marriage with the great English Catholic families (he had married the daughter of Sir William Dormer, one of Mary's maids of honour), the Spanish minister had access to the under-currents of court intrigue, and from his own personal impressions he anticipated evil. In her first interview with him before her sister's death, Elizabeth had spoken with admiration of the government of Henry the Eighth. The ladies of her household were "suspect" of heresy, and "every schismatic and traitor in the realm seemed to have risen from the grave to flock about her."<sup>1</sup> She spoke favourably to

<sup>1</sup> De Feria to Philip, Nov., 1558: Gonzalez.

him indeed of Heath, the Chancellor, of Paget, Petre, and Mason, all of whom had been on the council of Mary, and were either Catholics, or politically disinclined to change; yet she had no near relation to guide her, and she talked as if she intended to act on her own judgment. Her more chosen intimacies were with the younger noblemen: "gentlemen abandoned all of them," de Feria admitted, "to the new religion,"<sup>1</sup>—men like Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Peter Carew, Sir John Harrington, and Lord Bedford—and the most dangerous of this party for his virtues and his genius, Sir William Cecil, she had chosen for her secretary.<sup>2</sup>

To Cecil indeed it was that Elizabeth had turned with exceptional and solitary confidence. He had received her instructions beforehand how to act; and while she herself remained at Hatfield, without waiting to communicate with her he assumed the instant direction of the government. Within an hour of Mary's death he had sketched the form of the proclamation. The same day he changed the guard at the Tower. The ports were closed. Couriers sped east, west, north, and south, to Brussels, to Vienna, to Venice, to Denmark. The wardens of the marches were charged to watch the Northern Border. Before the evening of the 17th of November, the garrisons on the Kent and Sussex shores had trimmed their beacons and looked to their arms. A safe preacher was selected for the Sunday's sermon at Paul's Cross, "that no oc-

<sup>1</sup> "En la nobleza todos los mozos estan dañados de eregias."—De Feria to Philip: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> "Cecil qui fué secretario del Rey Eduardo me han dicho cierto que sera secretario de Madame Isabel. Este dicen que es hombre entendido y virtuoso pero herege."—De Feria to Philip, Nov., 1558: Gonzalez.

casion might be given to stir any dispute touching the governance of the realm."<sup>1</sup>

The next step, characteristic both of Cecil and his mistress, was to stanch the wounds without the delay of a moment, through which the exchequer was bleeding to death. More than 200,000*l.* was now owing to the Flanders Jews, bearing interest of 14 and 15 per cent.; and money was wanted for immediate expenses. The accounts were in confusion. The thoughts of Mary and those about her had been absorbed in higher considerations; and two of the last bonds which had been lying in her room for signature had been used by the women in "curing the corpse."<sup>2</sup> On the 18th Sir Thomas Gresham accompanied Cecil to Hatfield, received his instructions from Elizabeth herself, and departed for Antwerp on the instant Gresham sent to Flanders. to raise an immediate loan, and to reside there afterwards, till by humouring the merchants by honest payments and by tricks of finance, he could clear the black incubus away.

Meanwhile, peers, courtiers, knights and gentlemen, rode down to do homage and congratulate. By Saturday night the Privy Council with every statesman of any side or party of name or note had collected at Hatfield. On Sunday the 20th Elizabeth and the peers at Hatfield. Elizabeth gave her first reception in the Hall.

The oaths of allegiance were sworn; the promises of faithful service official and private were duly offered and graciously accepted. The Queen then stood forward and said a few words, —

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda in Cecil's hand, Nov. 17, 1558: *MS. Domestic, Eliz., Vol. I. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

“ MY LORDS,

Nov. 20. “ The laws of nature move me to sorrow for my sister ; the burden that has fallen upon me maketh me amazed ; and yet considering I am God’s creature ordained to obey his appointment I will thereto yield ; desiring from the bottom of my heart that I may have assistance of his grace, to be the minister of his heavenly will in the office now committed to me. And as I am but one body naturally considered, though by his permission a body politic to govern, so shall I desire you all my Lords, chiefly you of the nobility, every one in his degree and power to be assistant to me ; that I with my ruling and you with your service may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth.

“ I mean to direct all my actions by good advice and counsel. And therefore, considering that divers of you be of the ancient nobility, having your beginnings and estates of my progenitors, kings of this realm, and thereby ought in honour to have the more natural care for maintaining of my estate and this Commonwealth ; that some others have been of long experience in governance, and enabled by my father of noble memory, my brother, and my late sister, to bear office ; the rest of you being upon special trust lately called to her service ; my meaning is to require of you all nothing more but faithful hearts in such service as from time to time shall be in your powers towards the preservation of me and this Commonwealth. And for council and advice, I shall accept you of my nobility, and such others of you the rest as in consultation I shall think meet and shortly appoint ; to the which also I will join to their aid and for ease of their burden, others meet for my service. And they which I shall not appoint, let them

not think the same for any disability in them, but for that I consider a multitude doth make rather discord and confusion than good counsel. And of my good will you shall not doubt, using yourselves as appertaineth to good and loving subjects.”<sup>1</sup>

Nothing definite had been said; yet the words seemed to imply that the Queen did not contemplate immediate or sweeping change. The Lords withdrew: Pembroke, Clinton, Lord William Howard, and Sir Ralph Sadler, remained in the Hall. Sir Thomas Parry was admitted as Controller of the Household. Cecil took the oaths as Secretary, and when he was led up to Elizabeth she said to him, —

“I give you this charge that you shall be of my Privy Council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment Words of the Queen to Cecil. I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the state; and that without respect of my private will you will give me that counsel that you think best: and if you shall know anything necessary to be declared unto me of secrecy, you shall show it to myself only; and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein.”<sup>2</sup>

Two days later the Court removed to London. The last time that Elizabeth had travelled that road she was carried in a litter as a prisoner, could her sister's lawyers so compass it, to die upon the scaffold. Times had changed. Her sister's bishops came to meet her at Highgate. They were admitted Elizabeth and the bishops.

<sup>1</sup> Words spoken by the Queen to the Lords, Nov. 20, 1558: *MS. Domestic, Eliz.*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Words spoken by Her Majesty to Sir William Cecil, Nov. 20, 1558: *Domestic MS.*, Eliz., Vol. I.



to kiss hands — all except one : but from Bonner's lips she shrank as if contaminated by their approach, and in that evidence of her temper they read all their coming fate. No formal alteration could be ventured till the meeting of Parliament ; but every hour brought with it some new indication that the moments were numbered of ecclesiastical dominion. Silently and swiftly the Privy Council was transformed : Montague, Englefield, Cornwallis, Boxall, Peckham — bigoted Catholics, and Mary's personal friends — withdrew or were removed. Even Paget, the most moderate of the opponents of change, was allowed to plead infirmity and retire ; while the vacant places were filled by Bedford, Northampton, and the Puritan Sir Francis Knolles. The Archbishop of York in spite of Elizabeth's regard for him ceased to be Chancellor. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, was made Lord Keeper ; and within a week or two the alterations were going on so fast that " fathers did not know their children." <sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding some efforts to check their zeal, the London mob tore down the new crucifixes. The people and the priests. Priests if they showed in the streets were kicked into the kennels,<sup>2</sup> and the Protestant clergy coming forth out of their hiding-places, began unpermitted to read the English services again. The bishops distracted between fear and fury knew not what to do or where to turn. Maurice Griffin, the Bishop of Rochester, died, and carried his mute appeal to a higher tribunal. The Queen's almoner, Dr. Bill, had preached at Paul's Cross on the 20th, bidding the people be

<sup>1</sup> "Con la mudanza del Principe y de los oficiales anda tel barahunda y confusion que no conocen los padres á los hijos."—De Feria to Philip, Nov.: *MS. Simancas.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

quiet and orderly. Christopherson Bishop of Chichester, he who burnt the bones of Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge, got possession of the pulpit the next Sunday, to rave mere treason, to be sent to the Tower for his violence, and to die like Griffin, a week or two later, either by grief or passion. The Catholics clamoured that they were being betrayed by Spain;<sup>1</sup> and De Feria could but write "that his worst fears were confirmed;" "that he was himself a cipher;" "that Philip's voice had no more weight with the Council than if he had never married into the realm; and that in all likelihood there would be an insurrection, of which the French would take advantage to invade the realm." "His Majesty had but to resolve, and he might be master of the situation; the Catholics would rise to support his interference in arms,<sup>2</sup> and to lose time was useless and dangerous." "The truth is," De Feria The Count de Feria recommended armed interference. said, "the realm is in such a state that we could best negotiate here sword in hand. They have neither men, money, leaders, nor fortresses, while the country contains in abundance every requisite for the support of an army."<sup>3</sup>

A large Spanish force was lying idle in the Netherlands. The Scheldt was crowded with vessels which could be converted with ease into transports. Philip himself was on the spot and must have felt how tempting was the opportunity. Happily for England he was incapable of a sudden resolution, and could only act when the critical moment had passed. He believed

<sup>1</sup> "Todos los fieles y Catolicos del Reyno ponen la principal culpa á su Magestad por no haberse querido ocupar en ellos y hacer lo que pudiera si quisiera." — *Memorial Del Conde de Feria: MS. Simancas.*

<sup>2</sup> "Quando lo neggocio hubiese de venir á los manos V. Magestad *tendra* esta parte por suya." — De Feria to Philip: *MS. Simancas.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

that the difficulties of her position would work their effect on Elizabeth as soon as she began to feel them, without his interference. He contented himself with charging his ministers to bribe, to promise, to persuade, to force upon the Council the certainty of which he was himself convinced, that without his support the country must become a province of France.

Meanwhile Cecil, with a conviction that let Elizabeth do what she would Philip would be compelled to stand by her, went boldly forward. In preparation for the meeting of Parliament, he circulated questions on the principal points of uncertainty among the leaders of the different parties. The opinion of the Catholic clergy it was needless to ask. The Catholic clergy had nothing to desire beyond the existing order of things, except it was a more complete restoration of their estates and immunities. As easily may be divined the views of the reforming divines. The pupils of Zuingle and Calvin saw in religion an absolute and universal rule for all times and circumstances; and by religion they understood the profession of a special body of doctrinal formularies, with the absolute prohibition of every other creed or system. They implored the Queen to admit no carnal compromise with Satan, and to regard herself as a Deborah or Judith, raised up by Providence for the deliverance of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The secular politicians had less confidence in truth, or were less certain that the Protestants had exclusive possession of it. The author of the paper on the "Distresses of the Commonwealth"<sup>2</sup> advised "wary hand-

<sup>1</sup> *Zurich Letters*, 1558, 1559.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Armigil Wade, who had been clerk of the council at the close of Henry the Eighth's reign.

ling." "The Catholics were in the majority in every county in England except Middlesex and Kent." "The Pope was a dangerous enemy:" "theological intolerance was not found by experience to produce healthy convictions;" "glasses with small necks, if liquor was poured into them suddenly and violently, would not be so filled, but would refuse to receive it."<sup>1</sup>

Goodrich, a lawyer of some eminence, was more explicit and decided. The Premunire Statute might, he thought, be enforced safely. The laws of the realm forbade the introduction of bulls, briefs, or letters of excommunication. The bishops might be forced again to submit to the Crown. They might be forbidden under the old penalties "to deal with suits in their courts for matters determinable in the King's courts." Before Parliament met, it would be well "that certain of the principal prelates and their addicted friends councillors to the dead queen, should be committed to the Tower, and the rest commanded to keep their houses;" while the whole body of the bench might be specially excepted from the pardon which would be proclaimed at the coronation. All these measures, high-handed as they were, might be prudently ventured; but it was more dangerous to meddle with opinion, or even to take a step against the spiritual functions of the Papacy. King John revolted against the Pope, and "was brought in danger of his state." The clergy it was true were weaker than they had been; but they were "more wily and wise;" "their tempers were more malicious, and the times more dangerous;" and before they could be "handled effectually" they should be "dissembled with and bridled." Even in the ap-

Advice of  
Goodrich.

Proposals  
for the  
bridling of  
the clergy.

<sup>1</sup> *Domestic MS., Eliz., Vol. I.*

proaching Parliament it would be better to attempt nothing beyond the repeal of the Lollard Statutes of Henry the Fourth and Fifth, which Queen Mary had revived. Deprived of these the bishops could no longer institute their processes *ex officio*; "quiet persons could live safely;" and meantime "her Majesty and all her subjects might by licence of law use the English Litany and suffrages used in King Henry's time;" "her Majesty in her closet might use the mass, without lifting up the Host, according to the ancient canons; and might also have at every mass some communicants with the minister in both kinds." The married priests might be "winked at, so as they used their wives secretly;" and "the learned and discreet sort" might preach "the Gospel," if they would avoid direct controversy, abstain from irritating the Catholics, and reserve their invectives for Anabaptists and Arians.<sup>1</sup>

Seven years later Elizabeth told Guzman de Silva, then Philip's ambassador, that at the beginning of her reign she had not been wholly a free agent, and that she had been driven by the pressure of the Protestants beyond the point where she would have preferred to rest. It is possible that she was intentionally deceiving De Silva; but it is likely also that if left to herself she would have accepted the policy which was thus marked out for her by Goodrich. Politically, there was much to recommend it. The Council of Trent had proved a failure. The Lutherans had recovered the ascendancy in Germany; and the Ultramontanes had not yet succeeded in dividing the Church of Rome by any sharply-defined line from the communion of the more moderate Re-

Elizabeth  
professes to  
have been  
overruled.

<sup>1</sup> "Judgment of Thomas Goodrich," Dec. 1558: *Domestic MS.*, Eliz., Vol. I., *Rolls House*.

formers. The chances were equal that if a general council should reassemble the Confession of Augsburg might be acknowledged ; while the Genevan theology, the articles and the second prayer-book of Edward the Sixth, would be certainly condemned. The Premunire Statute would secure the national independence ; and so long as the critical doctrine of the Eucharist was unimpugned, the Church of England might still consider itself in communion with Catholic Christendom ; while the Great Powers could have no pretext for interference or complaint. Personally and individually the dogmatism of Calvin was as distasteful to Elizabeth as the despotism of Rome. The practical complexion of her genius gave her a dislike and distrust of speculation ; she was herself in her own opinions studiously vague, and she could have been well contented with a tolerant orthodoxy, which would have left to Catholics their ritual deprived only of its extravagances, and to the more moderate of their opponents, would have allowed free scope to feel their way towards a larger creed.

Yet revolution cannot be controlled with the logic of moderation ; and toleration of those who are themselves intolerant is possible only when the common sense of mankind compels them to an inconsistency with their theories. The Lutheran might seem nearer to the Romanist than he was to Beza or Zuingle ; but the vital differences were not the apparent differences ; and the distinctions between the Reformers were after all but insignificant shades of variety, compared with the principle which parted all of them from the orthodox Catholic. The Catholic believed in the authority of the Church ; the Reformers in the authority of reason. Where

Difference  
of principle  
between  
Catholic  
and Protes-  
tant.

the Church had spoken, the Catholic obeyed. His duty was to accept without question the laws which councils had decreed, which popes and bishops administered, and so far as in him lay to enforce in others the same submission to an outward rule which he regarded as divine. All shades of Protestants on the other hand agreed that authority might err; that Christ had left no visible representative, whom individually they were bound to obey; that religion was the operation of the Spirit on the mind and conscience; that the Bible was God's word, which each Christian was to read, and which with God's help and his natural intelligence he could not fail to understand. The Catholic left his Bible to the learned. The Protestant translated the Bible, and brought it to the door of every Christian family. The Catholic prayed in Latin, and whether he understood his words or repeated them as a form the effect was the same; for it was magical. The Protestant prayed with his mind as an act of faith in a language intelligible to him, or he could not pray at all. The Catholic bowed in awe before his wonder-working image, adored his relics, and gave his life into the guidance of his spiritual director. The Protestant tore open the machinery of the miracles, flung the bones and ragged garments into the fire, and treated priests as men like himself. The Catholic was intolerant upon principle; persecution was the corollary of his creed. The intolerance of the Protestant was in spite of his creed. In denying the right of the Church to define his own belief, he had forfeited the privilege of punishing the errors of those who chose to differ from him.

Liberty as opposed to submission; the natural intelligence of the living man as opposed to the corporate

sovereignty of the outward and visible Church: these were the sharp antitheses which were dividing Christian Europe; and between them, and not between any special and detailed conclusions, lay the essential and irreconcilable antagonism. A *via media* might be found for opinion: words could be used which admitted of uncertain interpretation, so long as there was no authority to invest them with a definite meaning. On the question of authority itself, it was as little possible to hesitate as between rival claimants of the same throne. The Pope was a reality or he was nothing; and no government could seem to acknowledge him without consenting sooner or later to enforce his decrees.

Thus when Elizabeth had chosen her place on the moving side, she found it would be necessary to reclaim the spiritual jurisdiction of the Crown; and in taking a step which of itself would make enemies of the Catholics, to restore the Bible, to restore the English service, and in the question of the mass to leave a latitude which would conciliate the Calvinists.

The last of the papers addressed to Cecil indicates, with a rare combination of piety, good sense, and courage, the course to be pursued, showing at the same time that the dangers to be anticipated were not too great to be encountered.

"The sooner religion was restored," the writer said, "God was the more glorified, and it might be trusted would better save and defend her Highness from all dangers." The Pope would perhaps excommunicate the Queen, interdict the kingdom, and invite the Catholic powers to a crusade.

The course  
on which  
the Council  
resolve.

The French king would attempt an invasion in the name of Mary Stuart; Scotland would go with France,



and Ireland would mutiny. The bishops and clergy would do their worst to make a rebellion in England itself; and the ultra-Protestants would be discontented if they were not permitted their turn at persecution.

On the other hand, though all this was possible enough, it was worse in appearance than in reality. The Pope had been looked in the face already, and his terrors had proved chiefly imaginary. "Evil will, cursing and practising," might be expected from him, but little else. France and Scotland were formidable; but there too as well as in England were religious differences, which could be kindled and fanned into a flame; while the disaffection at home might be held in awe by judicious and prompt severity. The extreme Catholics who had been placed in office by Queen Mary might be quietly and gradually removed. The old-fashioned country gentlemen, constitutionally reactionary and conservative, might be dropped out of the commission of the peace; and "men of discretion, meaner of substance, and younger in years," be put in their place; while the musters or militia should be called under arms, officered "by young gentlemen which did earnestly favour her Highness;" and "so far as justice or law might consent, no jurisdiction or authority should be left in any discontented man's hand."

The laity against the clergy; the middle classes against the higher; the young generation against the old—society was split in two, in the normal line of revolution between the representatives of the future and the past.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The device for the alteration of religion in the first year of Elizabeth, offered to Secretary Cecil. — *Cotton MSS.* Printed in Burnet's *Collectanea*.

The intended measures were concerted with the strictest secrecy. A body of divines sat in the house of Sir Thomas Smith to revise the Prayer-book, and take from it that sectarian character which in its latest form it had assumed. Northampton, Pembroke, Bedford, and Lord John Grey, formed with Cecil a committee of council to consult privately with the Queen; and innovation and change until sanctioned by Parliament were strictly forbidden by proclamation.<sup>1</sup>

But however cautious they might be the outline of the intended policy became every day more clear; and the Spanish ambassador wrote with louder emphasis that England was lost and Elizabeth lost unless she was checked in the mad career on which she was entering. He did not anticipate the ultimate success of heresy. He believed only that the Queen, blinded by vanity, passion, and ill advice, was bringing on a catastrophe in which she must inevitably lose her throne to the Queen of Scots. Nothing could save her, nothing could prevent so disastrous a consequence, except her immediate marriage to some prince or nobleman in the Spanish interest.<sup>2</sup> "The more I reflect on this business," he said, "the more clearly I see that all will turn on the husband which this woman will choose." That she would marry some one was assumed as a matter of course; and at home as well as abroad the question who was to be her husband was the prominent subject of anxiety.

The opportunity of securing a powerful continental

<sup>1</sup> Strype, *Annals*, Vol. I. part ii. Appendix iv.

<sup>2</sup> "Quanto mas pienso en este negocio entiendo que todo el consiste en el marido que esta muger tomará, porque si es tal qual conviene, las cosas de la religion irán bien, y el reino quedará amigo á V. Mag<sup>d</sup>.; si no todo va borrado."—De Feria to Philip: *MS. Simancas*.

alliance, not a statesman in Elizabeth's cabinet would encourage her to neglect. Her life was the single bulwark between the nation and civil war or incorporation with France. She was the last of her race. All England was impatient for an heir, and was uncertain only whether it desired her to choose a husband from abroad or from among her own subjects. A subject would bring no increase of strength. The antipathy of the English to strangers had been shown remarkably in the opposition to the alliance of Mary with Philip. But the peril of the nation was now so great, the necessity of the case so overwhelming, that minor objections were overlooked; and the first prayer of every loyal man or woman in the country, alike Catholic and Protestant, was to see Elizabeth married somewhere, and to see her a mother.

To this matter therefore De Feria's attention was now turned exclusively. On his first arrival in London the ambassador, regarding the Queen as the creature of his master, had spoken to her in a tone which she resented. High words had passed between them, and De Feria had absented himself from Court. Elizabeth however was afraid to quarrel with him. In a few days she sent for him again, and affected to listen with interest to his proposals for her marriage. Philibert of Savoy, Philip's landless cousin, was the first suggestion. But Philibert had been already proposed and rejected while she was princess. England it was thought would be involved in endless war for the recovery of his lost inheritance. There were the Austrian Archdukes, to either one of whom there was less objection. But the person desirable above all others for her, in the eyes of Spanish statesmen, was Philip himself. "If she marry out of her

January.

own realm," wrote De Feria to him, "may she place her eyes on your Majesty."<sup>1</sup> There would be the true solution of all difficulties. The daughter of Anne Boleyn accepting the hand of her brother-in-law, and submitting to a Papal dispensation in order to obtain it, would make a refined expiation to the Catholic world for the divorce of Queen Catherine and would exquisitely stultify the English revolt. The political combination of England, Spain, and the Low Countries, would be cemented more firmly than ever. There would be no more danger from France and the Queen of Scots; and Philip himself would be rewarded for his late martyrdom by a wife more suited to his years.

A thousand motives recommended Elizabeth to the Spanish Court. To understand their weight we must revert to the conference at Cercamp, and the relations between Spain and France.

In the close of the preceding volume it was seen how the languid but expensive campaign of the last summer had terminated in an armistice, and in an effort to make peace. Behind the shield of the forty years' war, half Europe had revolted from the Church. The poison of heresy was spreading in France, in the Low Countries, in Italy, and even in Spain — exciting disorder and revolt, and allying itself with dangerous doctrines of popular liberty. The Great Powers were recognizing at last that it was high time to close their secular quarrels, and turn their swords towards holier objects. In the presence of their common enemy the Ultramontanes everywhere saw the necessity of draw-

<sup>1</sup> "Si determine da casa fuera del Reyno ella ponga los ojos en V. Ma."  
— De Feria to Philip: *MS. Simancas*.

ing together; and for the moment the Catholic party was superior at the court of Henry the Second.

Thus when the conference opened it had seemed that there was nothing to discuss. The French relinquished without a struggle their claims on Naples and Milan. They were willing to retire from Piedmont, to leave Navarre to Spain, to sacrifice every object for which they had wasted their blood and treasure. They insisted only on keeping Metz which the Duke of Guise had defended against the Emperor, and Calais which he had wrested from the English. Measured by their intrinsic value, these two poor towns were as nothing when compared with the concessions in Italy; and about Metz there was little difficulty. But the English, who had been dragged reluctantly into the war by Mary, who had lost all and gained nothing, required that in the restitution of conquests, their claim should not be disregarded. The loss of Calais had touched the national honour in the point where it was most sensitive, and they insisted and required Philip to insist with them, on its restoration.

The Spaniards were sensible of their obligations, and their own interest assisted in keeping them firm. The possession of Calais by the English was one of the securities of the Low Countries. It had been lost in a war undertaken solely at Philip's entreaty; and the Duke of Alva, perhaps in fear that his master's anxiety for peace might make him hesitate, dwelt with distinctness on the danger of forgetting their duty to their allies.

"We have told the French," he said to the King of Spain, at the end of October, "that your Majesty will make no peace without the Queen of England's

consent, though all Christendom perish for it. If you give way you will lose utterly the hearts of the English nation, who will turn from you to France; and the French king having Scotland and Calais, will soon be master of England also."<sup>1</sup>

Both Alva and the Bishop of Arras agreed in advising that the negotiation should be broken off, and the war be resumed. Philip would recover his popularity in London, and England would be roused to fresh exertions. If Spain was exhausted, France was more exhausted. The difficulty had perhaps been raised but as a feint to divide the Anglo-Spanish alliance; and if Philip was firm, the point would probably be given up.

So matters stood a fortnight before Mary's death. The change of sovereigns voided the commission of the English representatives. The armistice was prolonged, the conference prorogued till January, and the interval occupied with intrigue.

*Prorogation  
of the Con-  
ference.*

Affecting to suppose that the interests of Spain in England must have died with the late Queen, the French commissioners at once, on the arrival of the news, challenged Elizabeth's right.<sup>2</sup> They made an immediate effort to separate Philip from her, and scarcely cared to conceal their intention of striking an immediate blow, if Spain would look on and hold its hand.<sup>3</sup>

The Spaniards however had no intention of letting

<sup>1</sup> *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Granvelle*, Vol. V. p. 324, 325.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Cobham, writing in December to Elizabeth from Brussels, told her, on the authority of Ruy Gomez, the colleague of Alva and Arras, "that at Cercamp the French did not let to say and talk openly how your Highness is not lawful Queen of England, and that they have already sent to Rome to disprove your Majesty's right."—*Spanish MSS. Eliz., Rolls House.*

<sup>3</sup> Arras and Alva to Philip, Nov. 26: *Granvelle Papers*, Vol. V.

England become an appanage of France. Elizabeth was Philip's nominee, and not yet to be set aside for the Queen of Scots. On the 21st of November the King of Spain wrote to assure the English council that he would never desert them, and so he would have all men understand.<sup>1</sup> Doctor Wotton and the Bishop of Ely accompanied Arras from Cercamp to Brussels, and the diplomatic relations of the Spanish and English courts remained as close as ever.

Philip was then confident that he could retain Elizabeth. Elizabeth, while peace was unconcluded, was compelled to keep on terms of cordiality with Philip. Ruy Gomez it was true suggested that it might be better to come to terms without extorting the restoration of Calais; but this was only that the allies might replenish their treasures, and begin the war again at better advantage.<sup>2</sup>

But French intrigues were double-edged. Untroubled by scruples religious or political, Henry cared only to make the most of the situation; and of the two parties and two policies which divided France, he was indifferent which he employed, provided he could gain a march upon an adversary. While the Cardinal of Lorraine, at Cercamp, would have persuaded Spain to sacrifice England, the King of Navarre was allowed to tempt England to sacrifice Spain. If Elizabeth would become French, and if he could secure for his daughter-in-law the peaceable reversion of the English Crown, Henry might turn the tables upon Philip, keep Piedmont, and possibly extend his frontier to the Rhine.

Two parties  
in France,  
and two  
policies.

<sup>1</sup> "Ita enim ab omnibus accipi atque intelligi volumus, nullo tempore Anglos quibus multas ob causas bene volumus deserturos sed omnibus in rebus adfuturos." — Philip II. to the English Council, Nov. 21: *Spanish MSS.*, Eliz., *Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Cobham to Elizabeth, Dec. 13: *Spanish MSS.*

No sooner was the armistice extended than Lord Grey de Wilton, who had been taken prisoner at Guisnes, was sent over to Elizabeth with proposals for a secret peace. Guido Cavalcanti, who had been employed in Edward's time on a similar errand, followed to "practice" among the lords; and Henry himself wrote to "congratulate Elizabeth on her accession, to assure her that he ever had been and ever would be her truest friend, and to express his hope that with her sister's death the only cause had been removed which had made a difference between the two countries. While the conference was suspended, a second set of commissioners might meet in some remote French village where their presence would be unobserved; and Philip could not complain if Elizabeth treated him as Charles the Fifth had treated her father at Crêpy."<sup>1</sup>

Ignorant whether Henry was sincere, or was trying only to divide her from Philip — ignorant how far she might trust Philip himself when the changes which she was contemplating were daily embroiling her with his ambassador, perhaps knowing that notwithstanding his fair speeches the Count de Feria was already urging his master to an armed interference in England, Elizabeth would not reject these overtures, yet would not so admit them as to give Philip an excuse for complaint. She declined the secret conference yet professed herself ready to make a separate peace; at the same time she directed Wotton to inform the King of Spain of the advances which had been made to her; to tell him that she would agree to nothing which would prejudice the Spanish alliance, without giving him notice; but to say frankly that as England had been entangled in the war against the declared

Proposals  
for a secret  
peace with  
France.

<sup>1</sup> The King of France to Elizabeth: Forbes, Vol. I.



wishes of the people, if advantageous offers were made to her she would not think it right to refuse them.<sup>1</sup>

The habitual ambiguity of Philip had provoked this partial menace. Although his ministers at Cercamp had been true to England, his own language had been less decided. He had declared himself willing to continue friendly towards England, but the treaty remained unrenewed, although Lord Cobham had been sent over to him to exchange the ratifications; and Wotton could only say "that it were well done and past," without expecting to see it done. "The King," Wotton wrote, "doth well consider that if he should agree to the peace without us, we were not able long to resist the French and the Scots and others whom the French would set on our tops. What would ensue thereof a blind man can see; and these reasons persuade that he will make no peace without our satisfaction."<sup>2</sup> Yet on the other hand Philip was inclined to make demands on England, which he knew could not be complied with; and Spain was impatient of the expenses of the war, and cried out to be at rest. In this uncertainty Henry's advances to England quickened his resolution, and from other quarters probably, as well as from Elizabeth's letter, he learnt that no time was to be lost. The King of France had followed up his first step by more decided overtures. Going at once to the central difficulty he instructed Guido Calvanti to say to the Queen, that although

Calais. "Calais was part of the ancient patrimony of France, and the French nation would give all their substance to keep it," yet that "where there was a will on both sides, no difficulties were insuperable."

<sup>1</sup> The Queen to Wotton, Dec. 30, 1558: *Spanish MSS., Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Ibid.*

“So long as it was uncertain where Elizabeth might marry, he might if he restored it be opening a door to give his enemies an entrance into his kingdom ;” “but if she would marry in a quarter from which France had nothing to fear,” “an expedient would be found for Calais to the honour of both princes and the satisfaction of their subjects ;” while an alliance might be formed between himself, the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and the Queen of England, for “a perpetual union” of England, France, and Scotland, “with a final determination of all quarrels, rights, and pretensions whatever.”<sup>1</sup>

It is uncertain to whom the King of France was alluding as the husband whom he would desire for Elizabeth ; but her marrying at all in the French interest was a contingency which Philip dared not risk ; and as little could he afford that she should remain — as from her words to De Feria she seemed to desire — neutral in the quarrels of the continent.<sup>2</sup> On the 9th of January Philip was still wavering ; on the 10th he declared his final determination.

“Touching the Queen’s marriage,” he wrote to De Feria, “I directed you in one of my last letters to throw all possible obstacles in the way of her marriage with a subject. For myself, were the question asked, I bade you say nothing positively to commit me, yet so to answer as not to leave her altogether without hope. In a matter of so great importance I had to consider carefully ; and I wished before coming to a resolution to have the advice both of yourself and others. At length, after weighing it on all sides, I have concluded thus :—

<sup>1</sup> Mission of Guido Cavalcanti: Forbes, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> “Particularmente dió señal de su resolucion de querer estar neutral.” De Feria, to Philip, Dec.: *MS. Simancas*.

Philip offers his hand to Elizabeth. “There are many and serious reasons why I should not think of her. I could spend but little time with her: my other dominions require my constant presence. The Queen has not been what she ought to be in religion; and to marry with any but a Catholic will reflect upon my reputation. I shall be committing myself perhaps to an endless war with France, in consequence of the pretensions of the Queen of Scots to the English Crown: my subjects in Spain require my return to them with indescribable anxiety; while so long as I remain in this country, the hospitalities expected of me are, as you well know, a serious expense; and my affairs, as you know also, are in such disorder that I can scarce provide for my current necessities, far less encounter any fresh demands upon me.

“There are other objections besides these, equally considerable, which I need not specify. You can yourself imagine them.

“Nevertheless considering how essential it is in the general interests of Christendom to maintain that realm in the religion which by God’s help has been restored in it—considering the inconveniences, the perils, the calamities which may arise, not only there but in these States also, if England relapse into error—I have decided to encounter the difficulty, to sacrifice my private inclination in the service of our Lord, and to marry the Queen of England.

“Provided only and always that these conditions be observed: First, and chiefly, you will exact an assurance from her that she will profess the same religion which I profess, that she will persevere in it and maintain it, and keep her subjects true to it; and that she will do everything which in my opinion shall be necessary for its augmentation and support.

"Secondly, she must apply in secret to the Pope for absolution for her past sins, and for the dispensation which will be required for the marriage; and she must engage to accept both these in such a manner that when I make her my wife she will be a true Catholic, which hitherto she has not been.

"You will understand from this the service which I render to our Lord. Through my means her allegiance will be recovered to the Church. I should mention that the condition that gave the Low Countries to the issue—should any such be born—of my marriage with the late Queen, cannot be again acceded to. It is too injurious to the rights of my son Don Carlos."<sup>1</sup>

In announcing his resolution to make this cruel sacrifice, Philip nevertheless felt it necessary to add that "although he was ready to marry Elizabeth, she must not expect him to remain long with her." "He was absolutely required in Spain, and to Spain he must go, whether he left her pregnant or not. There was no such pressing haste as there had been when he married her sister; she was young, and he could go and come at convenient intervals." And here it seemed, as if for the first time it occurred to him, that his offer of himself might possibly not be welcome; for he told De Feria not to mention the likelihood of his absence, or indeed any of the other conditions until he had discovered how she was affected towards him. He bade the Count feel his way, "and not expose him to a refusal which would make his condescension appear ridiculous." "For himself he was ready to do anything which his duty to God demanded of him."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philip II. to the Count de Feria, Jan. 10, 1559: *M.J. Simancas*

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Ibid.*

Seen by the light of later history, a proposal of marriage from Philip of Spain to Elizabeth of England can scarcely be thought of without a smile; yet Philip was indisputably serious, and in offering his hand he was offering the most splendid alliance in the world. Had the proposal itself been simply communicated to her, unaccompanied by Philip's thoughts about it, Elizabeth would have felt herself bound to refuse with courtesy. But the fates were unfavourable. The improvident Count de Feria permitted his master's letter to be seen by the ladies of the palace, whom he was endeavouring to interest in the cause. The contents of it, or perhaps the despatch itself, reached Elizabeth's eye;<sup>1</sup> and the value of the offer was not improved when it was represented as a sacrifice to duty.

When the Count opened the subject with her, she was already prepared with her reply. She was conscious, she said, of the honour which had been done her; she was aware of the value to the realm of the King of Spain's alliance; but His Majesty's friendship was as sufficient for her protection as his love. She had no desire to marry, and she did not believe in the power of the Pope to allow her to have her sister's husband.

De Feria threatened her with the Queen of Scots. She declined to consider the Queen of Scots' chances to be as large as he described them; and finally, her sense of humour getting the better of her, she said, laughing, she feared the King of Spain would prove a

<sup>1</sup> "Después que su M<sup>d</sup>. escribió la resolución destes negocios, se comenzaron á traar, usando el buen modo que pareció convenir, que fue ganar las voluntades de sus mugeres de camara. Parece que la Reyna ha visto las cartas de su M<sup>d</sup>. lo qual debe advertirse mucho." — *Memorial del Conde de Feria: MS. Sinancas.*

bad husband, he would come to England and marry her, and then desert her and go home.<sup>1</sup>

True to her nature, however, Elizabeth would not give a positive refusal. If she was determined, she affected to be irresolute ; and the Count could only conjecture that her final answer would be unfavourable.

Thus at home and abroad the new year found all parties watching each other, and "practising" under the surface. The English Parliament was to meet on the 23d of January ; a fortnight later the Conference was to reassemble at Cambray. On Sunday the 15th, the day after she had received Philip's proposals, the Queen was crowned at the Abbey.

The week preceding was spent according to custom at the Tower. On the Saturday there was the usual pageant, when she was taken in state to Westminster.

Elizabeth had been disciplined into self-control by danger and suffering. Her more serious feelings she habitually concealed ; and when she spoke on such subjects, it was either with diplomatic reserve or with an elfish and mocking irony. On occasions however her deeper emotions refused to be stifled ; and as she passed out to her carriage under the gates of the Tower, fraught to her with such stern remem-  
Jan. 15.  
brances, she stood still, looked up to heaven, and said —

"Oh Lord, Almighty and Everlasting God, I give thee most humble thanks that thou hast been so merciful unto me as to spare me to behold this joyful day ; and I acknowledge that thou hast dealt wonderfully and mercifully with me. As thou didst with thy servant Daniel the prophet, whom thou deliveredst out of the

<sup>1</sup> "Diversas personas le habian dicho que su M<sup>d</sup>. habia de venir aqui á casarse con ella y irse luego á España lo qual dijo con mucha risa." — *Memorial del Conde de Feria: MS. Simancas.*

den, from the cruelty of the raging lions, even so I was overwhelmed, and only by thee delivered. To thee, therefore, only be thanks, honour, and praise forever. Amen."

She then took her seat, and passed on, — passed on through thronged streets and under crowded balconies, amidst a people to whom her accession was as the rising of the sun. Away in the country the Protestants were few and the Catholics many. But the Londoners were the first-born of the Reformation, whom the lurid fires of Smithfield had worked only into fiercer convictions. The aldermen wept for joy as she went by. Groups of children waited for her with their little songs at the crosses and conduits. Poor women, though it was mid-winter, flung nosegays into her lap. In Cheapside the Corporation presented her with an English Bible. She kissed it, "thanking the City for their goodly gift," and saying "she would diligently read therein." One of the crowd, recollecting who first gave the Bible to England, exclaimed, "Remember old King Harry the Eighth;" and a gleam of light passed over Elizabeth's face — "a natural child," says Holinshed, "who at the very remembrance of her father's name took so great a joy that all men may well think that as she rejoiced at his name whom the realm doth still hold of so worthy memory, so in her doings she will resemble the same."

The ceremony the next day was performed by Oglethorpe, the Bishop of Carlisle. The Archbishop of York, to whom the duty would naturally have fallen, had been alarmed by the English litany and refused to officiate; but his example was not followed. The bishops waited till the quarrel was

The coronation.

commenced by the Queen, and were generally present at the Abbey. Mass was sung as usual, and the occasion passed off with no particular remark.

The opening of Parliament was the one subject which absorbed attention. How would the Houses accept the intended policy of the Queen? Four new peers had been created at the coronation. The earldom of Hertford was revived in favour of Edward Seymour son of the Protector. Lord Thomas Howard, Surrey's younger brother, was made Lord Howard of Binden. Sir Henry Carey, the Queen's cousin, became Lord Hunsdon; and Sir Oliver St. John was created Baron St. John of Bletso. Including these, the lay peerage of England consisted but of sixty-one persons, of whom it is to be observed that eighteen were either unable or unwilling to appear at Elizabeth's first Parliament, while twelve who were present at the opening very soon discontinued their attendance. Their proxies for the most part were held by Bedford and Clinton, and their votes therefore were given to the Government. But the personal absence of half the peers implied but a cold welcome to the new sovereign.

The Bench of Bishops also was proportionately thin. Reginald Pole for some unknown reason had left several sees untenanted. The accession of Elizabeth had been followed by a remarkable mortality among those whom it found in possession; and before Parliament met there were a dozen bishoprics vacant for the Queen to fill, as De Feria expressed it, with as many ministers of Lucifer.<sup>1</sup> Of the surviving prelates, some

<sup>1</sup> De Feria, in his irritation, credited Pole with the whole deficiency — "Aquel maldito Cardinal dexó doce obispados por proveer en los quales pondrán ahora doce ministros de Lucifer." — De Feria to Philip, Feb. 20: *MS. Simancas*.



were incapacitated by age, some by sickness, from attending to their places; and thus, without violence being used to thin their phalanx, ten was the largest number which they were ever able to muster on the most important debate of the session.

For the Commons, the Catholics were loud in their complaints of the unfairness of the elections; and it may be assumed as certain that a government which had contemplated the removal of every Catholic magistrate in the kingdom, exerted itself to the utmost in securing the return of its friends. It is equally certain — inasmuch as five years later two justices of the peace out of three were even then reported to be unfavourable to the Reformation — that when parties approached an equality the Crown was in no condition to use violence. Constitutional opposition however was yet as imperfectly understood; and the disaffected on either side looked rather to rebellion when the government was against them than to the tedious processes of Parliament. The universal horror of the late reign forced the defenders of its principles into the shade, and the moving party though numerically the weakest were the young, the eager, and the energetic. The Catholics left the field to their adversaries; and town and country chose their representatives among those who were most notorious for their hatred of popes and priesthoods.<sup>1</sup>

A slight indisposition obliged Elizabeth to postpone the opening for two days. On the 25th the session began, and for the first time she stood as Queen face to face with her subjects.

Her position was singularly lonely. The mortality

<sup>1</sup> "Este Parlamento es de personas escogidas en todo el Reyno los mas areges y perversos." *MS. Simancas.*

in the Tudor race which had raised her to the throne had left her also with scarcely a relation in the world. Her nearest kinswoman was the rival claimant of her crown; and she herself, as she appeared in the House of Lords, a young woman not yet twenty-six, must have felt that in her high estate she had but herself alone, her own resolution, her own prudence, her own energy, to depend upon; the last of the royal blood, the centre of a revolutionary hurricane, which with such skill as she possessed she was set to guide and to curb.

Of those who were round her, the figures of some few, with the help of such scanty light as remains, may be looked at specially and distinctly. First on the bench of bishops sat Heath, and next him Bonner, standing out with unshaken daring to brave the execration which was heaped upon his name. After Bonner came Pates, Bishop of Worcester, attainted by Henry the Eighth for high treason — one of Pole's missionaries of treason, who had sat in the Council of Trent. Next him was White, Bishop of Winchester, who had distinguished himself by a violent sermon at Queen Mary's funeral. Of the three other bishops, Baynes, Scott, and Oglethorpe, the two first were equally notorious fanatics. The Abbot of Westminster, Feckenham, was he who had gone on the vain mission to shake the faith of Lady Jane Grey.

Leaving the churchmen, soon to disappear all of them into their proper darkness, we look next to the Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Nicholas Bacon. father of the more famous Chancellor, had grown into notice as a lawyer in the time of Henry the Eighth. He had married a daughter of Sir Antony Cooke, being thus Cecil's brother-in-law; and, with Lady Bacon, was an advanced Protestant, inclining

over the borders towards Calvinism.<sup>1</sup> His eldest son Antony was a child, Francis was not yet born. He himself was approaching middle age — a large corpulent man, with a square massive face deeply lined, high arched eyebrows, and a high nose, the expression keen, hard, and unsparing, yet upright and noble. Unknown as yet as a statesman, Bacon it is likely owed his advancement to the recommendation of Cecil.

If Bacon represented the incoming era, the Marquis of Winchester represented the era which was passing away. Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, could remember a Plantagenet king, and Bosworth field. He was advanced in years when Queen Catherine was divorced; and having survived all changes of creed, having been made a peer by Henry, created a marquis by Edward, and having afterwards been the chief instrument in saving Mary's crown — "the Shebna" of Knox, "the crafty fox with a fair countenance," — he was to be seen in his office of High Treasurer in Elizabeth's first Parliament, eighty-four years old, still vigorous and serviceable. His letters continued for years to show a mind as clear and a hand as steady as those of the best of the contemporaries of his grand-children. His principle was loyalty to the family of Henry VIII.; his creed, faith in God and English freedom, and hate of fanatics, Catholic or Protestant.

The Duke of Norfolk, first of the English peers, was young and untried. He for the present was guided, and the Howard family was represented, by his uncle William, Lord of Effingham, to

<sup>1</sup> Sir Antony Cooke, ἀρχιμάγειρος as he was called, had been spoken of for Chancellor, he too being in close intimacy with the Genevans, yet not disposed to go all lengths with them. — *Zurich Letters*, pp. 1, 17, and 32.

whom above all other Englishmen Elizabeth owed her life and throne.

Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, Norfolk's father-in-law, like the Marquis of Winchester, had served The Earl of Arundel. under three sovereigns and under three creeds. He had been one of the executors of the will of Henry the Eighth; it was he who arrested Northumberland at Cambridge; he had been steward of Mary's household; he had acted as High Constable at Elizabeth's coronation; and being a widower he was named among those who might aspire to the Queen's hand. But he moved in a cloud, suspected of aims which he would not avow, without a conviction, without a purpose, feared by all men and trusted by none.

The Earl of Pembroke was a soldier, and the ablest which England possessed. Pembroke, with The Earl of Pembroke. Lord Russell, had suppressed the insurrection under Edward. Pembroke led the English contingent at St. Quentin, and had commanded in London on the memorable morning when Sir Thomas Wyatt came in from Knightsbridge. His wealth was enormous: as President of the Welsh Marches, he was supposed to be able to bring two thousand men into the field. But he had been employed by Mary chiefly because she could not afford to alienate so powerful a subject. He had looked coldly on her proceedings, and in turn had been coldly regarded. He had been among the first to support Elizabeth with his presence at Hatfield; and his growing allegiance to Protestantism placed him on the committee of four which had determined on the change of religion.

Lord Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford, was the favourite above all English noblemen of the extreme reformers. In the late reign he was The Earl of Bedford.

one of the few of high rank who had not cared to conceal his opinions; and although Mary had not dared to proceed to extremities against him, he had been imprisoned, and had been released only to go into voluntary exile. He had travelled into Italy, paying a visit by the way to the refugees at Zurich; and the Genevans looked to him afterwards as their surest friend in Elizabeth's cabinet. In appearance he was a heavy ungainly man, distinguished chiefly by the huge dimensions of his head. When Charles of Austria was a suitor for Elizabeth's hand, and questions were asked of his person, the Earl of Bedford's large head was the comparison made use of in his disparagement:<sup>1</sup> but his expression, like that of Bacon, was stern and powerful; the world as he knew it was no place for the softer virtues; and those only could play their parts there to good purpose whose tempers were as hard as the age and whose intellects had an edge of steel.

The Catholic leader among the Peers, in default of Norfolk, was Antony Browne, son of Henry Lord Montague. the Eighth's Master of the Horse, created by Mary Lord Montague, in right of descent by the female line from the Nevilles. In the distraction of families, one of his sisters was the wife of the Puritan Lord John Grey, the other was Countess of Kildare. Montague himself, with the estates of the Countess of Salisbury, had inherited her principles and her fearlessness. But his character with that of all others then passing into prominence will unfold itself with the story.

The Queen took her seat upon the throne. The Commons were called to the bar. Sir Nicholas Bacon then rose and spoke.

<sup>1</sup> "Del Carlos dicen que tiene la cabeza mayor que el Conde de Bedford." The Bishop of Aquila to the Count de Feria, May 29, 1559: *MS. Simancas*.

After throwing himself on the courtesy of the Houses, he said that he was directed by her Majesty to explain the causes for which they were assembled.

Her Majesty having God before her eyes, desired to seek "before all things the advancement of His honour and glory as the sure and infallible foundation on which to erect her policy." "This foundation being well laid, good success would follow in all else; without it nothing could be looked for but continual alteration and change; things much to be eschewed in all good governance, and most of all in matters of faith and religion." "Her Majesty's desire was to secure and unite the people of the realm in one uniform order to the honour and glory of God and to general tranquillity;" "she required the Parliament therefore, for the duty they owed to Him whose cause it was, and for their country's sake whose creed it concerned, to use their best diligence for the establishing of that which should be most convenient for so godly a purpose." They would consider no private interests or personal respects. They would "forbear, and as a great enemy to good counsel flee from all contentious reasonings and disputations, all sophistical, captious and frivolous arguments and quiddities meet for ostentation of wit than a consultation in weightier matters, more befitting for schools than for the Parliament House"—the Queen required them to "eschew contumelious and opprobrious words, as heretic, schismatic, and Papist, as causes of displeasure and malice, enemies to concord and unity, the very marks which they were now to shoot at;" and as on the one hand they would "devise nothing which in continuance of time might breed idolatry and superstition," so "they would take heed by no licen-

tious or loose handling to give occasion for contempt and irreverent behaviour towards God or godly things."

Touching then on scriptural illustrations of the dangers of both these extremes, and expressing in a graceful comparison with Esther, Elizabeth's earnest aim to do only what should be just and acceptable in God's sight, he concluded that part of his subject in these words —

"Forced by our duties to God, forced thereto by his punishments, provoked by his benefits, drawn by our love to our country, encouraged by so princely a patroness, let us in God's name go about this work endeavouring ourselves with all diligence to make such laws as may tend to the establishment of God's Church and the tranquillity of this realm."

Turning next to the condition of the country, he spoke of the change of sovereigns. The Crown, he said, had fallen to a princess who intended to govern with the advice of the estates of her realm; to put down evil-doers "without rigour and extremity," yet without "indulgence or foolish pity;" a princess that neither was nor ever would be "so wedded to her own will and fantasy," that "for the satisfaction of it" she would bring her people into bondage "or give occasion for tumults and stirs," such "as had risen of late days;" a princess that never for private affection would advance the quarrel of a foreign prince and impoverish her realm; a princess to whom "nothing — no worldly thing under the sun — was so dear as the love and good-will of her subjects."

All this was of happy augury. On the other hand Calais was lost — Calais the glory of England, the fear of England's enemies; Calais the mart for its merchants; Calais the guardian of the Channel.

The particular loss would have been of less consequence if "what had been lightly lost might lightly be recovered;" but the revenue of the Crown had been wasted; guns, men, ships, stores, squandered and lost; enormous debts were owing abroad, with "biting interest" so long as they were left unpaid. War was daily growing more expensive; and England, surrounded with enemies, was unprovided with the commonest means of defence. The Parliament must look to it: when there was danger of fire "they plucked down part of their houses to save the rest." "The wise merchant in adventures of danger" insured himself against loss. The Queen was most unwilling to burden her subjects; but "the ragged State torn by misgovernment" could no longer be trifled with.

"Her Highness," the Lord Keeper concluded, "has commanded me to say, that were it not for the preservation of your own selves and the surety of the State, she would rather have adventured her own life than troubled you. And albeit you yourselves see that this is no matter of will, no matter of displeasure, no private cause of her own; but for the defence of our country and the preservation of every private man's home and family, her Majesty's pleasure is that nothing shall be demanded of her loving subjects but that which they of their own free liberality be contented frankly and freely to offer; so great is the trust and confidence that she reposeth in them, and the love and affection that she bears towards them."<sup>1</sup>

Five days passed. On Monday the 30th  
the business of the Session commenced. Jan. 30.

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Sir N. Bacon, 1558-59: *MS. Harleian*, 398 Printed in *Dewes' Journals*



In the Commons, the first question was of supply; a committee of twenty-four was appointed to draw up a Money Bill. In the Lords, the same day, an Act was introduced to reannex the first fruits of ecclesiastical benefices to the Crown. In both Houses, the general policy which the Queen intended to pursue was sketched in outline; Cecil, Bedford, and Sussex most distinguishing themselves. "The Parliament has begun," De Feria wrote on the 31st. "It is already proposed to repeal the late laws, and to change religion. The Catholics are in the utmost alarm, and have no hope but in your majesty."<sup>1</sup>

The First Fruits Bill — so slight regard was there anywhere for the temporal interests of the clergy — was swept in four days through the Upper House, amidst the clamours of the bishops.<sup>2</sup>

The Commons were no less expeditious. On February. the 1st of February a Tonnage and Poundage Act was introduced.<sup>3</sup> On the 3d the Committee was prepared with the Subsidy Bill.

It will be remembered that in Mary's last Parliament the Commons, in distrust of Philip's influence on the Queen, had granted half only of the sum which was then demanded of them, undertaking to furnish the remainder at a future time, should it be absolutely required. The preamble of the present bill admitted the necessity, yet in terms which implied a belief that

<sup>1</sup> "Los Catolicos estan muy temerosos de la resolucion que se tomará en este Parlamento. De los del Consejo, Cecil y el Conde de Bedford son los que mas se señalan en destruir esto; de los de fuera el Conde de Sussex hace lo que puede. Los Catolicos tienen puesta toda su esperanza en V. Md." — De Feria to Philip, Jan. 31: *MS. Sinancas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Lords' Journals*, 1 Eliz.

<sup>3</sup> In money bills, the reason for the grant was always specially assigned. Tonnage and poundage, or a duty on exports and imports, was supposed to be given for the police duty of the seas.

England was weak only by misgovernment, and was capable as ever of maintaining its freedom and greatness. They voted at once, and without reservation, more than all which they had refused to Mary — two-fifteenths and tenths, half-a-crown in the pound on all personal property, and four shillings in the pound on the rents of land. With peculiar significance they took upon themselves on this occasion to legislate for the clergy also, and extended the act to all persons in the realm, spiritual as well as temporal.<sup>1</sup>

But there was a more pressing anxiety than any which could be removed by money. Elizabeth's single life alone lay between England and annexation to France, and no foreign prince could be more anxious about her marriage than her own subjects. To Philip or Henry the question was but of the balance of power in Europe, to the English it was life itself.

There were many suitors — Philip, his cousin Philibert, the Austrian princes, and the King of Sweden. At home Arundel's name had been mentioned, and Sir William Pickering's. On the whole, the Queen was thought more likely to choose a subject than a foreigner;<sup>2</sup> but the desire to see her married to some one was so great that the person seemed nothing in comparison. On the 6th of February the Speaker Sir T. Gargrave, with the Privy-Council and thirty members of the House of Commons, demanded an audience, and without mentioning person or country they requested her in the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Eliz. cap. 21.

<sup>2</sup> "Entiendo que estos consejeros se comiençan desengañar de que ella no se quiere casar en el Reyno, y esto les hace dar mas prisa a lo de la eregia." — De Feria to Philip, Jan. 31: *MS. Simancas*.

name of the nation to be pleased to take to herself a husband.

How Elizabeth received the petitioners is unknown, but she took time to consider her answer. On Thursday the 9th, a bill was introduced into the Lower House to restore the royal supremacy, and was referred to a committee of which Sir Antony Cooke was chairman.<sup>1</sup> It was not till the morning of the 10th that the deputation was desired to return to the Queen's presence.

She then said she most heartily thanked her faithful subjects for the care they showed for her. For herself, from the time when she had first determined to live for God's service, she had preferred to remain unmarried. There had been a time when her life was in danger. She would not blame her sister, nor although she had good grounds for suspicion would she name the person by whose advice her sister was acting; but it had seemed then as if her marriage alone could save her. Yet she had refused, and God, who had defended her before, she was confident would not desert her now. She approved of the form of the petition, which left her choice unfettered, and should it please God to incline her heart to another kind of life they might assure themselves she would do nothing of which the realm should have cause to complain. She intended to spend her own life for the good of her people, and if she married she would choose a husband who would be as careful for them as herself. If, on the contrary, she con-

<sup>1</sup> De Feria says the heretics made the more haste for fear the Queen might marry a Catholic. Cooke himself complained that he could move no faster. On the 12th of February he wrote to Peter Martyr, "We are busy in Parliament, casting out the tyranny of the Pope, restoring the authority of the Crown, and reëstablishing true religion, but we move far too slowly." — *Zurich Letters*, p. 19.

tinued in her present mind she could not doubt but that with the help of Parliament the succession might be secured, and some "fit governor be provided, peradventure more beneficial to the realm than such offspring as might come of her." Children were uncertain blessings, and might grow up ungracious. For her it would be enough "that a marble stone should declare that a Queen having reigned such a time lived and died a virgin."<sup>1</sup>

A vague answer, yet not intended to mislead; the obligation to marry for political convenience, detestable under all its aspects, painful to a man — to a woman so painful that a crown might be thought too poor a price to pay for it — the proud Elizabeth would not wholly repudiate. Even that sacrifice she might make at last, if the welfare of the country required it of her. But the time had not come as yet, and it was convenient to leave the prize of the English throne open for a while to the competition of the Catholic powers. The Reformation could be carried on with less danger and interference so long as Philip could hope to undo it again constitutionally; nor could he interfere at all, while a suitor in his own behalf or his cousin's for Elizabeth's hand, without blighting his chance of acceptance.

The King of Spain, on his side, was watching her with tremulous anxiety. On the first intima-  
 tion of the measure brought forward in Par-  
 liament, he feared it would be his duty to withdraw the offer of his hand;<sup>2</sup> but Alva whom he consulted dissuaded him. The Duke was unable to believe that she could reject such a magnificent alliance. Her

Agitation of Philip.

<sup>1</sup> Speech of the Queen: *Commons' Journals*, Dewes. 1 Eliz.

<sup>2</sup> Philip II. to the Duke of Alva, Feb. 9: *MS. Simancas*.

allegiance to the Church would be a condition of the contract, and the acts of one Parliament could be undone by another.<sup>1</sup> Still impatient, Philip wrote to De Feria, bidding him implore Elizabeth to reconsider what she was doing; if entreaties failed, he left it to the ambassador's discretion to menace her with the chance of losing him.<sup>2</sup> De Feria however agreed with Alva: if Elizabeth would become Philip's wife the Catholics would resume their ground with ease; if not, neither menace nor remonstrance would be of any avail. "I have ceased," he wrote on the 20th of February, "to speak to her about religion, although I see her rushing upon perdition. If the marriage can be brought about, the rest will provide for itself; if she refuse, nothing which I can say will move her. She is so misled by the heretics who fill her court and council that I should but injure our chances in the principal matter by remonstrating."<sup>3</sup>

Elizabeth understood the situation, and used her advantage. The Parliament, after thanking her for the gracious answer which they construed into a consent,<sup>4</sup> went on with their work. On the 11th of February the English Litany was read in the Lower House, the members all kneeling; on the 13th the Supremacy Bill came on again, and large differences of opinion at once revealed themselves.<sup>5</sup> As first brought before the Commons, the Act restored to the Queen the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which

The Supremacy Bill.

<sup>1</sup> Alva to Philip.: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Philip II. to De Feria, Feb. 12: *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> De Feria to Philip II., Feb. 20: *Ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> Five days later, a committee of the Commons had a conference with the Lords in the Star Chamber, to determine the rank which the Queen's husband should hold. — *Dewes' Journals*, 1 Eliz.

<sup>5</sup> "Sir Antony Cooke defends a scheme of his own, and is very angry with all of us." — Jewel to Peter Martyr: *Zurich Letters*, p. 32.

was originally assumed by her father.<sup>1</sup> Two days' discussion led to no result; and to judge from the surviving fragment of a single speech, the language of the Catholics was indecently passionate. Dr. Story had been a notorious instrument in the Marian persecution, and serving; as such men ever serve, the cause which they most oppose, he dared to boast of his past atrocities. "I wish for my part," he said, "that I had done more than I did, and that I and others had been more vehement in executing the laws! I threw a faggot in the face of an earwig at the stake at Uxbridge as he was singing a psalm, and set a bushel of thorns under his feet, and I see nothing to be ashamed of or sorry for. It grieves me that they laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root."<sup>2</sup>

Feb. 14.

Story perhaps thought less triumphantly of his Uxbridge exploit when long years after he was entrapped on board a trader at Antwerp, and carried to London to die there. He could boast of his crimes in the English Parliament, but the hate which he had generated against himself dogged his footsteps and overtook him at last.

The Supremacy Bill went back to a Committee: a week later it was re-introduced, slightly, though not materially, altered; and again the opposition was so violent that it would have been lost except for Cecil, who in De Feria's words, "flung the question into a garboyl," and carried his point in the confusion.<sup>3</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Archbishop Heath.: Strype's *Annals*, Vol. I. part ii. p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* part i. p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> "Los del Parlamento en la camara de abajo determináron que la suprema potestad ecclesiastica se comprehendiera en la corona de los Reyes"

the shape in which it was sent to the Peers the new act scarcely differed from that of Henry the Eighth, either in the title which it gave to the Queen, in the oaths which every subject was required to swear, or in the penalties which were to follow on refusal. The bishops Resolution of the Catholic Bishops. assured the Spanish ambassador that they would sooner die than submit; <sup>1</sup> and, encouraged by the resistance in the Commons, and conscious that they were secretly supported by the majority of the English people, they settled down into resolute opposition. In point of learning there was no lay peer capable of arguing with them.<sup>2</sup> The vacant sees could not be filled with Protestants till the oaths to the Pope, required at their institution, had been removed by Act of Parliament. Their audience was for the most part neutral or favourable; and, but for Pole's neglect in leaving so many bishoprics unoccupied, De Feria thought the Catholics might have been altogether successful.

Convocation had been sitting by the side of Parliament — the clergy with the bishops at their Convocation protests against doctrinal changes. head had drawn up a protest against the threatened changes, and in five articles had signified their adherence to the Catholic doctrine of the

de Inglaterra; aunque hubo algunos que hablaron en favor de la razon; de manera que fué necesario para salir con su maldad que el secretario Cecil metiese la cosa en garbullo, y assi pasó. Quieren hacer que todo el Reyno jure de guardar este articulo y que quien no lo hiciere sea tenido por traydor, como lo hizo hacer el Rey Henrico." — De Feria to Philip II.: *M.S. Simancas*.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> "The bishops being, as you know, of the Upper House, and having none there of our side to expose their artifices, they reign as sole monarchs in the midst of ignorant and weak men, and easily overreach our little party by their numbers, or their reputation for learning." — Jewel to Peter Martyr: *Zurich Letters*, p. 22.

Eucharist, and to the established constitution of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

They asserted their absolute belief in transubstantiation, in the sacrifice of the mass, in the sovereign rights of the successors of St. Peter, in the authority of priests over laymen in "all matters of faith and discipline;" and the first step of the opposition in the House of Lords was the presentation of the unanimous petition of the entire "spirituality of England," embodying their convictions.<sup>2</sup>

The Archbishop of York followed it up in a careful and elaborate speech. Avoiding as much as <sup>Speech of the Archbishop of York.</sup> possible all irritating topics, he argued for the papal authority on its own merits, on the evidence of history, the decisions of councils, and the judgment of the fathers of the Church. The system which had been established by Henry the Eighth had been condemned, he said, both by Catholic and Protestant; and if the Queen desired to return to it she would be without a friend in either party. There was no intelligible sense in which a temporal sovereign could be head of the Church, and in dealing with the subject at all

<sup>1</sup> The five articles were these:—

1. "That the natural body and blood of Christ is really present in the sacrament by virtue of the words duly spoken by the priest.

2. "That after consecration no other substance remains.

3. "That the mass offered is a propitiatory sacrifice.

4. "That Peter and Peter's successors are Christ's vicars, and supreme rulers in the Church.

5. "That the authority in all matters of faith and discipline belongs and ought to belong only to the pastors of the Church, and not to laymen."—*Strype's Annals*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> And yet we are told that the Church of England reformed herself—meaning by the Church, not the laity, who alone did the work, but the bishops and clergy, who never consented, as a body, to any measure of reformation whatever, except under the judicious compulsion of Henry the Eighth.



he considered that Parliament was going beyond its powers.

There was nothing new in these arguments. The supremacy was the well-trodden battle-field of the old campaign between More and Cromwell, Fisher and Cranmer; yet there was no one among the Peers who was capable of answering the archbishop. Heath, who had been raised to the bench by Henry, had acquiesced once in what he now opposed; and he could represent himself not as new to the subject, but as having gone astray, and as having been brought back to the truth. In its existing shape the Bill could not be carried. English opinion alone would have prevented a measure from again passing into law which might send honest Catholics to the scaffold, and give the longing Protestants their turn at persecution; while even the debate of such a question was compromising English interests at Cambray, and exercising a perilous influence on the humour of Philip, who if pushed too far might make his own terms, and leave England to its fate.

When pressed to say decisively whether she would marry him, Elizabeth at last refused. On the 20th of February De Feria made his final effort. He spoke to her again of the Queen of Scots. He warned her that if Spain ceased to have an interest in England, the peace of Europe could not be sacrificed because her sister's carelessness had lost Calais. But "the devil," he said, "had taken possession of her;" "she was more impatient of menace than of entreaty," she repeated "that the Pope could not allow her to marry her brother-in-law," and she refused entirely to be afraid of France; "her realm," she said, "was not too poor, nor her people too faint-hearted, to defend their liberties at home and to protect their rights abroad;

she would not marry, and she would agree to no peace without the restoration of Calais — that was her answer.”<sup>1</sup>

As there was no hope that she would change her mind, De Feria recommended Philip not to trouble himself about any other marriage for her, but to instruct his ministers at Cambray to complain to the English representatives of the alteration of religion, and if their remonstrances were unheeded, to make peace at once.

Had nature given Philip a capacity for prompt action, Elizabeth's career might have run out before its time. The shrewdest statesman in England, Lord Paget, though for some reason excluded from her confidence, could not refrain from pressing on Cecil the peril of the crisis. “If the French invade us by sea or by Scotland,” he said, “the King of Spain will enter also as our friend or our foe; if we take part with neither of them, they will fasten their feet both of them here and make a Piedmont of us; if we take part with the one, we ourselves shall afterwards be made a prey by the victor. God save us from the sword! we have been plagued of late with famine and pestilence. For God's sake move that good Queen to put her sword in her hand; she shall make the better bargain with her doubtful friends and enemies.”<sup>2</sup>

Lord Paget's  
opinion of  
the situation  
of England.

Feb. 20.

It was easy to advise; it was difficult to execute. At this time, England being actually at war with the second power in the world, the whole naval force in commission amounted to seven coast-guard vessels, the largest of which was but 120 tons:

The English  
navy.

<sup>1</sup> De Feria to Philip, Feb. 20: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Paget to Cecil, Feb. 20, 1559: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

and eight small merchant brigs and schooners, altered for fighting. Of ships in harbour fit for service there were twenty-one; one newly built of 800 tons, one of 700, one of 600, one of 500, and one of 400, four from 300 to 200, the rest sloops and boats.

In artillery the destitution was even more pitiable. Of cannon and "demicannon" in all the dock-yards, there were but thirty which were reputed sound; with two hundred culverins, "minions," and "falconets." Of bows, arrows, lances, corselets, and harquebusses, there were not enough to arm 3000 men.<sup>1</sup> For the troops, Captain Turner who was sent to command at Portsmouth, and was in daily expectation of a visit from the French, reported to Cecil on the 6th of March that they were all "grown to disorder and mischief, and to the greatest ill that man's head could imagine."<sup>2</sup>

To such a point had England been brought after eleven years of the government of doctrinaires, Protestant and Catholic. If the suspicions and jealousies of France and Spain had not come to the assistance of Elizabeth's diplomacy, it might have gone hardly with her. She had continued her private correspondence with France. Calais, she insisted, must be restored; her people were determined to have "that blot to their nation wiped and taken away." As to its falling to Spain, she was descended of English blood, and not Spanish like her sister; and she and her people might be trusted to take care of it. She was "good friends" with Philip, "yet not otherwise bound to him than was for the good of her country and subjects." The French king had said "that a way might be found,"

<sup>1</sup> Naval Report, March, 1559: *Domestic MS.*, Eliz., *Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Turner to Cecil, March 6: *MS. Ibid.*

and it was not for her to close any avenue that promised her an escape from her difficulties. Her sister had done nothing without the privity and direction of the minister of Spain; she herself being a free princess intended "to proceed without participation to the Spaniards of anything, otherwise than for the nature of her matters should seem expedient."<sup>1</sup>

The "way" intended by Henry he indicated by sending over in return a confidential agent, with the portrait of some unknown prince or nobleman who should take Calais back with him as Elizabeth's dowry. The Queen examined it long and earnestly, but as it seemed with an unfavourable conclusion.<sup>2</sup> The negotiation fell through, and in a letter still full of friendly expressions, the King of France intimated his regret that he had changed his mind, and that the plan by which he had hoped to end the quarrel was found impracticable.

Thus Elizabeth found herself thrown back upon the solid facts of her position, with her Spanish allies alone to trust to. The congress reopened at Cam- The congress  
reopens at <sup>Cambray.</sup> bray on the 5th of February. The Bishop of Arras, the Duke of Alva, Ruy Gomez, and the Prince of Orange, represented Spain. The Constable Montmorency, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Bishops of Orleans and Limoges, appeared for France, with the Duchess of Lorraine as a neutral and independent president. Doctor Wotton and the Bishop of Ely

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Guido Cavalcanti, Jan. 29: Forbes, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> "Hoy he sabido que esta mañana arrivó aqui de vuelta de Francia Guido Cavalcanti, y luego la Reyna le oyó y ha estado con el un gran rato. Trae en su compañía un Frances hombre pequeño. Hasta ahora no he podido saber mas sino que me dicen que el Guido trae un retrato que estuvo mirando la Reyna un gran rato." — De Feria to Alva, Feb. 29: *MS Simancas*.

returned from Brussels. The third English commissioner, Lord William Howard, was delayed in London, and did not appear till four days after the opening.

On the evening of his arrival Howard had a private interview with Alva and his colleagues. His last instructions from Elizabeth were to surrender anything except Calais; but to remain firm upon that. Philip on the other hand was weary of the war; he was irritated with Elizabeth, and insisted that he was penniless and that peace must be made.<sup>1</sup> Between these contradictory positions the middle term was difficult to find. The Calais question happily was one in which the Low Countries were interested; and Alva, though he spoke bitterly of the carelessness with which it had been lost, promised that he would do his best for its recovery.

The next day the commissioners met in public.

Feb. 12.  
Calais.

Towns taken in war, Lord Howard said, were as a matter of course restored at the making of peace; Calais belonged to England, and the French had no right to persist in keeping it. The French replied promptly that Calais was a French town which at all hazards they meant to keep; their commission in fact did not allow them to consider the surrender of it as possible. A long argument ensued, but absolutely without result; and the day closed apparently without a hope of agreement.

No sooner however had the meeting broken up than the Constable drew Howard apart, and warned him against trusting Philip, who desired only to annex Calais to the Low Countries. From Howard Mont-

<sup>1</sup> "Porque yo os digo que yo estoy de todo punto impossibilitado a sostener la guerra."—Philip II. to the Duke of Alva, Feb. 12: *Granvelle Papers*, Vol. V.

morency went to Alva to express his astonishment that the Spaniards should sacrifice themselves to the selfish interests of England; there was Crêpy for a precedent, and the peace of Europe was more important than a single town. The Dauphiness moreover was the true Queen of England, and if France surrendered Calais, it must be to her.<sup>1</sup>

It was fortunate for Elizabeth that the Dauphiness was the one person whose pretensions in the existing state of Europe the Spaniards could not recognize, and to whom Elizabeth with all her heresies was preferable. For Elizabeth herself they cared nothing; but they dreaded an increase to the power of France; and they cared much for the sympathies of the English Catholics, whom they would alienate forever by deserting English interests. Notwithstanding Philip's orders, Alva was compelled to assure Montmorency that Spain would be true to her ally. Montmorency with equal firmness insisted that Calais if it belonged to England at all belonged to Mary Stuart, and that to her alone should it be given. Thus much only Henry might be induced to yield. Elizabeth might be left in undisturbed possession of the Crown of England, on condition that her children should intermarry with Mary Stuart's children, son to daughter, and daughter to son; France meanwhile should keep Calais for eight years, as England had kept Boulogne, and the question of right could be referred in the interval to arbitration.

Proposals of marriage between children not yet born meant obviously nothing. In communicating to Lord Howard what Montmorency had said, the Duke of

<sup>1</sup> "Donnant assez a entendre qu'ils ne tiennent la Reyne pour Reyne" - Alva and Arras to Philip II., Feb. 13: *Granvelle Papers*, Vol. V.

Alva expressed no opinion on the course which England should pursue; he desired only that this proposal should be made known to Elizabeth, and he accompanied Howard's despatch with a letter of his own to the Count de Feria. By accepting the French offer Elizabeth would gain breathing time; if the conference broke up ineffectually on her account, he said she must be prepared for exertions of which, in its present exhaustion, he believed England to be incapable — at the same time it was not to be supposed that the French would keep any promise which they might make of restoring Calais at the completion of the term; if the Queen accepted peace on the terms now proposed, it must be by her own act; the King of Spain would neither advise nor dissuade, and if she cared to continue the struggle in a serious spirit, she might rely on his coöperation.<sup>1</sup>

If England had remained orthodox — if Elizabeth had accepted Philip, he would have spent his last ducat to bring France upon her knees; under existing circumstances the Spaniards were justified in adhering to the letter of their engagement. Elizabeth inquired what Alva meant by larger exertions, and in what time and by what means he thought that Calais could be recovered. If the allied armies, Alva replied, were to invade France in force for two or three consecutive years, there was no doubt that they could force the French king to any condition they pleased; and in that case the King of Spain would sell all that he had to see England righted.<sup>2</sup> But Alva well knew what

<sup>1</sup> Alva and Arras to the Count de Feria, Feb. 13: *Granvelle Papers*. Howard, Wotton, and Ely to Elizabeth, Feb. 14: Forbes, Vol. I. De Feria to Alva, Feb. 20: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> "Y que en este caso sabiamos cierto que V. Md. aunque se hubiese de vender todo se esforçaria para ayudar á la Reyna." — Alva and Arras to Philip II., Feb. 26: *Granvelle Papers*, Vol. V.

England must answer ; and after a pang of indignation and disappointment, Elizabeth commissioned Howard to accept the best terms which he could obtain.

"It appeared," the Duke wrote to Philip, "that all they could do was to attack Scotland, leaving the Continent to us. We told them that to such conditions your Majesty could not agree : if they would do their part, your Majesty would do yours ; but they must remember that your Majesty's differences were already arranged, and that your people could not and would not endure the burden of the war only in a quarrel of theirs. They asked us what we would have them do, and we brought them at last to this : we undertook to demand and to urge, by all means short of breaking off the negotiation, the restoration of Calais pure and simple ; if this was refused, to demand the town and harbour without the Pale : if we could not obtain this, the English would consent to leave France in possession for eight years ; we, on our parts, engaging, if the place was not then restored, to go to war, and assist them to recover it." <sup>1</sup>

So matters stood at Cambray when the Supremacy Bill was first introduced to the Upper House, and it is easy to understand why the Government at such a crisis were in no haste to press it.

The two first conditions the French rejected immediately and absolutely. The third would have been rejected also, but to their vexation and no small astonishment, Philip's commissioners united with the English to present it as an ultimatum ; and with the certainty that if they refused, the conference would break up, they referred for instructions to Paris.

Since he had resolved at all hazards to keep Calais,

<sup>1</sup> *Granville Papers*, Vol. V.



the King of France was unwilling to bind himself by a promise which he had predetermined to break. He flinched however before the attitude of Spain, and said that he would restore it after the eight years if the English would take his word for their security; and if in the meantime the fortifications might be dismantled, and the port be made purely mercantile. Again, however, the English found their allies faithful to them. The Bishop of Arras would have had Philip put his troops in motion, "the French being a people more affected by force than argument."<sup>1</sup> "For myself," Arras wrote to the Duke of Savoy, "I hold it certain that if we yield to them in a matter so unreasonable, they will presume on our weakness and will withdraw from many things which they have accorded

March. in Piedmont and elsewhere; there is no fair dealing to be had unless we show our teeth."<sup>2</sup>

It was insisted that the works should be maintained unimpaired; that when the eight years were expired, the town should be given up in the condition in which it had been lost; and the bare word of France not being considered good,<sup>3</sup> the allies demanded further the ignominious guarantee of hostages.

Seeing that it was useless to persevere further, the French gave way, and on the 12th of March a final arrangement was concluded by which they bound themselves to deliver Calais, Guisnes, and the whole Pale intact in its existing condition at the time stated, or else to forfeit half a million crowns,

Peace con-  
cluded with  
France.

<sup>1</sup> Arras to the Comte de Megha, February 23: *Granville Papers*, Vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> Arras to the Duke of Savoy, March 11: *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "Los Franceses les prometerán de volver á Calais dentro de los seis [ocho], años y despues guardarán la verdad que suelen." — *De Feria to Alva*, Feb. 29: *MS. Simancas*.

and leave the English claim unimpaired ; to evacuate and raze the fortresses which they had built on the Scotch border ; and to give substantial bonds for the money. As a last precaution, the Spanish commissioners required that the Dauphin and Dauphiness should confirm the treaty, and directly recognize Elizabeth's right to the Crown.

Thus had Spain fulfilled its bond, and England was extricated from its difficulties with better conditions than might have been looked for. The King of Navarre wrote indeed to Elizabeth to assure her of the lasting regard of Henry ; to tell her that all which she had gained at Cambray would have been conceded more willingly in a private treaty ; and that although the immediate opportunity was lost, "a way" would soon be found again to settle the question more definitively. But Navarre was a feeble rival to the Duke of Guise. The liberal party in France had been permitted to try their hand at making a separate treaty with England, but they had failed, and with their failure they lost their influence at Henry's court. The Guises, ultramontane in creed, and haters of England in politics, were only eager for an occasion to reopen the war, and set themselves free from their embarrassing engagements. The treaty was signed by the King and ratified by the Dauphin and Dauphiness in the terms which had been extorted. But Mary Stuart at the same moment assumed the royal arms of England ; and the Dauphin in the ratification of the separate treaty concluded with Spain, dared to subscribe himself "Francis by the grace of God King of Scotland, England, and Ireland, Dauphin of France."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Quand ledict Arras eust enterdu que l'Angleterre estoit compris la

In England the first and immediate effect of the peace was the reappearance of the Supremacy Bill. On the 13th of March it was read a second time. On the 18th, after "certain provisions and amendments," it came on again, and The Supremacy Bill. Scott, Bishop of Chester, made a last effort to throw it out. At length, and with some power, he exhausted the usual arguments for the unity of the Church; he dwelt upon the distractions of Christendom since the introduction of the new opinions; and asking what security there would be for the preservation of the faith in a Church cut off from the body of Christ, he said that there were already in Europe thirty-four Protestant communions, all differing from one another, yet "every one of them saying and affirming constantly that their profession was builded upon Christ, alleging Scripture for the same."<sup>1</sup>

But he spoke to a deaf audience. The bishops had the best of the argument; but they had fallen on evil times, and were outvoted. Montague supported them, and Shrewsbury supported them; but to the great body of the English laity orthodox and unorthodox a foreign jurisdiction was essentially hateful. They did not mean to imitate Henry the Eighth, and make war upon it with the axe and quartering knife; but the thing itself they were determined to end. The bill was read a third time, and in its altered shape went back to the Commons; and Elizabeth could now receive the Spanish ambassador with confidence and smiles.

*Jedans il se print a rire.*" Intelligence of a commission, wherein the French king used the style of England.—*Scotch MSS.*, Eliz., *Record Office*.

<sup>1</sup> Speech of the Bishop of Chester in Parliament: *Strype's Annals*, Appendix No 7.

"I found her resolved," De Feria wrote to Philip,<sup>1</sup> "to maintain the proceedings in Parliament; Cecil, Sir Francis Knolles, and their friends, have gained her over.

"After we had talked a short time, she said she could not have married your Majesty because she was a heretic. I said I was astonished to hear her use such words; I asked her why her language was now so different from what it had been. But she would give me no explanation; the heretics, with their friend the devil, are working full speed; they must have told her that your Majesty's object in proposing for her was only to save religion.

Elizabeth  
and De Feria.

"She spoke carelessly, indifferently, altogether unlike herself, and she said positively that she meant to do as her father had done. I told her I would not believe that she was a heretic—I could not think it possible she would sanction the new laws—if she changed her religion she would ruin herself. Your Majesty, I said, would not separate yourself from the Church for all the thrones in the world.

"So much the less, she replied, should your Majesty do it for a woman.

"I did not wish to be too harsh with her, so I said men sometimes did for a woman what they would do for nothing else.

"She told me she did not intend to be called Head of the Church, but she would not let her subjects' money be carried out of the realm to the Pope any more, and she called the bishops a set of lazy scamps.<sup>2</sup>

"The 'scamps,' I said, were the preachers to whom she had been listening; and I added that it

<sup>1</sup> De Feria to Philip II., March 19: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> "Y que los obispos eran grandes poltrones."

was small credit to her to allow any vagabond from Germany to get into the pulpit in her presence, and to talk trash to her.

"At this moment Knolles came in to tell her that supper was ready—a story made for the occasion I fancy. They dislike nothing so much as her conversations with me. I took my leave for that time, saying merely that she was no longer the Queen Elizabeth whom I had known hitherto, that I was ill-satisfied with her words to me, and that if she went on thus she was a lost woman.

"Cecil governs the Queen; he is an able man, though an accursed heretic. Parliament came to its resolution on the morning on which the news came from Cambray; it was this which gave them confidence; and it is a bad return for all your Majesty's kindness. That she will confirm their hateful and vile measures there is no sort of doubt. The bishops if necessary are ready to die for the truth; your Majesty would admire the courage which they are showing. With your Majesty's leave I would sooner spend your money upon them than on the false traitors who have sold their God and their country's honour.<sup>1</sup> Religion will triumph at last; of that I am sure, for the Catholics are two-thirds of the realm; but I had rather the work was done by your Majesty than that it should lapse to the French. Your Majesty will pardon me if I pass beyond my office. I am so wretched at what I see that I cannot refrain from speaking."

A few days later De Feria wrote again—"I know for certain that the news of the peace gave the Parliament the courage to act as they

*Reports of  
De Feria.*

<sup>1</sup> "Estos fementidos." The allusion is to the many English noblemen to whom life-pensions were given by Philip at the time of his marriage with Mary.

have done — they were afraid before, lest your Majesty should leave them in the lurch. I told the Queen I was indeed astonished that she should have permitted such a thing; I could only hope that after all she would refuse her own consent. I reminded her that she had desired me to write nothing to your Majesty so long as that consent had been withheld; I had relied upon her word, and now I feared your Majesty might hear of what had passed from some other source, and be justly displeased.

“She repeated what she said before, that she was not going to be Head of the Church, or to administer the sacraments, with more of the same sort which was both false and foolish. She asked me haughtily if your Majesty intended to be angry with her for having mass in English. I said I could not tell that; but this I could tell, that she was on the high road to lose her throne, and I for my own part should be sorry to see it. She had had opportunities enough of judging what your Majesty’s feelings were towards her, and my business was to tell her the truth, and to point out to her the danger in which she stood. I knew what her resources were, I knew what your Majesty’s resources were, and what those of France were, and her only chance was to remain on good terms with your Highness.

“She said she did not mean to quarrel with France; she intended only to maintain herself in her own realm as her father had done.

“I told her she was mistaken; she could not do it. She talked of imitating her father; and yet she kept about her a parcel of Lutheran and Zuinglian rogues that King Henry would have sent to the stake. May God and your Majesty provide a remedy for these misdoings! The Pope must be informed of what has

taken place in Parliament here. It is not at all as it was in the times of Henry or Edward, when all alike were compromised. If his Holiness proceed against the Queen and the realm, he must exempt the bishops and Convocation, who have been loud in their protest of allegiance to the Church. The majority of the people out of Parliament are innocent also; and it is of high importance that the distinction be observed in the bull, to confirm the faithful in their allegiance, while it blasts and overwhelms the heretics.

“I had forgotten to tell your Majesty that Lady Catherine<sup>1</sup> is a good friend of mine, and talks to me in confidence. The Queen, she says, does not like to think of her as her possible successor. The late queen took her into the privy chamber and was kind to her. She complains that now she is out of favour and finds nothing but discourtesy. I keep on good terms with my Lady Catherine. She promises me for her part not to change her religion, and not to marry without my consent.”<sup>2</sup>

The fear of Philip on receiving this letter was that Elizabeth in despair of retaining his own friendship would accept the hand which France had at first held out to her. In the late reign Henry the Second had been her firmest friend. His religion all Europe was aware depended on the convenience of the moment; and although the opportunity had probably passed and the French court had now determined to play the card of the Queen of Scots, the uneasy orthodoxy of the

<sup>1</sup> Lady Catherine Grey, Lady Jane's sister, who had been married (in form only) to the son of Lord Pembroke at the time of the Northumberland conspiracy. The marriage had been declared invalid, but Lady Jane being dead, Lady Catherine, by the will of Henry the Eighth, was next in succession to the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> De Feria to Philip II., March 23: *MS. Simancas*.

King of Spain was haunted with the dread of an Anglo-Gallican alliance, which would at once turn the scale in the balance of power against himself, and would postpone or prevent forever his intended crusade against heresy. Or, if this danger were no longer to be anticipated, the English Catholics might declare for Mary Stuart; and the political mischief would be at least equally serious. France would then have earned the chief gratitude of the Papacy. France would be the first power in Europe; and Piedmont, Lombardy, and perhaps the Low Countries themselves, would drop into Henry's hands.

Philip therefore replied with charging De Feria to prevent, if it was not too late, the passing of the Acts of Parliament; but whether they were passed or not to say nothing to alarm Elizabeth, and to assure her he was as much her friend as ever.<sup>1</sup> He directed Philip and the English Catholics. him to do everything in his power to prevent an insurrection; to soothe the Catholics privately with promises, and if they broke out into rebellion to avoid committing himself to their support. If he saw them likely to succeed, he might secretly give them money; but even then he must not offend the friends of the Queen, lest they should call in the French.

For himself, Philip said, he had determined to stay for the present in Flanders: he had put off his intended return to Spain, and would hold his ships and troops

<sup>1</sup> "Y en caso que no se pudiese remediar esto, procuraseis de entretener con la Reyna en buena gracia y detenerla muy descuydada y assegurada en mi amistad: porque no se le diese ocasion temiendo lo contrario de llegarse á los Franceses y valerse dellos; aunque no parece que sea verisimil que ella se ose fiar de que tiene en ese Reyno tal pretencion, y no dessea sine ocasion para procurar de echarla del."—Philip II. to the Count de Feria: *MS. Simancas.*



in readiness to take advantage of any opportunity which might offer itself.<sup>1</sup>

At the same moment bidding adieu to his hope of Elizabeth of England the King of Spain transferred his addresses to Elizabeth of France. Among the conditions of peace sketched in the preceding autumn at Cercamp, the daughter of Henry and Catherine de Medici had been proposed as a bride for Don Carlos. The father was now substituted for the son. After a brief private correspondence the exchange was brought forward at Cambray, on the 2d of April, by Montmorency. It was accepted on the spot by Alva; and so rapidly was everything arranged, that the very next day the marriage treaty, complete in all its parts, received the signatures of the French and Spanish commissioners.

Meantime the Supremacy Bill with its new provisions went back to the Commons, where it was once more altered, and sent again to the Lords—flying between the two Houses like a shuttlecock, till the 22d of March, when it appeared to be at last settled, the title of Supreme Head being given by it to the Queen. The more dangerous question of doctrine was yet untouched; and on Good Friday, the 24th, Parliament was prorogued to celebrate Easter with a scene of spiritual pageantry. The mass still continued; the Catholic ritual had possession of the churches, and the litanies with parts of the communion service alone as yet were read in English. The clergy, with remarkable unanimity, had pronounced against all

<sup>1</sup> Philip II. to the Count de Feria: *MS. Simancas*. Thinking it likely that Elizabeth might ask to see his letter, Philip sent a second with the same date, and in the same packet, containing vague expressions of general friendliness, which De Feria, if necessary, could show: *Ibid.*

change ; and decency required that for a religious reformation there should be some semblance or shadow of spiritual sanction.

On the 31st, therefore, there was held in Westminster Abbey a theological tournament. Eight champions on either side were chosen for the engagement. Sir Nicholas Bacon and the Archbishop of York kept the lists : the Lords and Commons were the audience — for whose better instruction the combat was to be conducted in English.

The subjects of controversy were —

1. The use of prayer in a tongue unknown to the people.

Theological  
controversies  
at Westminster.

2. The right of local churches to change their ceremonies, if the edification of the people required it. And,

3. The propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, said to be offered in the mass.

As a limit to diffuseness, the arguments were to be produced in writing ; and to the Catholics, in affected deference to their rank, was given the honour and the disadvantage of precedence. On their side were four bishops — White, Baynes, Scott, and Watson ; with four doctors — Cole, who had preached at Cranmer's martyrdom ; Harpsfeld, Pole's delegate, the inquisitor of Canterbury ; Chedsey, Bonner's chaplain ; and Langdale, Archdeacon of Lewes.

The Protestants were returned refugees ; men who had kept prudently out of the way while their opinions were dangerous to themselves, but had reappeared with security. The true battle on these great questions had been fought and won at the stake. The Aylmers, the Jewels, the Grindals, were not of the metal which makes martyrs ; but they were skilful talkers, admirable "divines," with sufficient valour for the

sham fight in which they were required only to walk with decorum over the course. They had conviction enough — though Jewel at least had saved his life by apostacy — to be quite willing to persecute their adversaries ; they were as little capable as the Catholics of believing that heaven's gate-keepers acknowledged any passport, save in terms of their own theology ; and on the whole they were well selected for the work which they had to do.<sup>1</sup>

It had been contrived that throughout the controversy the Protestants should have the last word. The bishops either resenting the unfairness of the arrangement, or having as they said really misunderstood it, there was some confusion ; and when the moment came they were unprepared to begin. After some hesitation, however, Cole was put forward to speak on the first point ; and according to the account of Jewel conducted himself with no particular dignity. He stamped, frowned, raved, snapped his fingers, and if not convincing, was at least abusive. In argument he stated what was of course true, that at a time when there was no regularly-formed English language, the public service was conducted in Latin, and that in the first centuries of Christianity Latin liturgies had been used in the Latin churches, and Greek in the Greek ; but the inference that either Latin or Greek should be used in a country where it was not understood scarcely followed.

The counter-statements of the Protestants were then read by Horne. They consisted of appeals to the Bible and tradition. The service of God was asserted to be

<sup>1</sup> The English names are well known to readers of English Church history. They are Scory, Grindal, Coxe, Whitehead, Aylmer, Horne, Guest, and Jewel.

a reasonable service of the mind and heart, and not a magical superstition. All rituals had a meaning, which was intended to be intelligible; and generally the position was maintained that words — human words — whenever used were meant to be understood.

With this the first day's proceedings ended; the discussion was adjourned till Monday; and the Catholics were requested to comply for the future with the prescribed form, that the second proposition might be argued more completely.

On Monday, however, things went no better. Bacon invited the bishops to commence. White answered that he desired first to reply on the argument of the preceding day. He was told that he might reply on the whole subject when the three propositions had each had their separate consideration. Watson said that they had mistaken the directions, and that on the first head his party had not been heard at all; Doctor Cole had spoken extempore, and had given only his own private opinion. The Lord Keeper regretted their misconception, but was unable to permit the prescribed order to be interrupted; and after some recrimination the bishops agreed to proceed.

But here another difficulty arose. They had been assigned priority, and they preferred to follow; they protested with some reason that it was not for them to prove the Church's doctrine to be true; they professed the old established faith of Christendom, and if it was attacked, they were ready to answer objections; let the Protestants produce their difficulties, and they would reply to them.

They did not and would not understand that they were but actors in a play, of which the finale was already arranged, that they were spoiling its symmetry by altering the plan.

The Lord Keeper replied that they must adhere to their programme, or the performance could not go forward. He asked them one by one if they would proceed. They refused. He appealed to the Abbot of Westminster; and the Abbot of Westminster agreed with the bishops.

If that was their resolution then, the Lord Keeper said, the discussion was ended—and ended by their fault. They had refused to accept the order prescribed by the Queen, and they should not make an order of their own. “But forasmuch as,” he concluded significantly, “ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us.”

From the first the Tower had been the destined resting-place for the Catholic prelates. The Bishops of Lincoln and Winchester were at once committed for contempt. The rest were bound in recognizances to appear daily at the Council Chamber, and to remain in London till further orders.<sup>1</sup>

The Parliament was then left to do the work by itself. The Houses met again on the 3d of April, and business recommenced with a message from the Queen.

Thanking them for the good-will which they had shown in the Supremacy Bill, Elizabeth refused, as she had promised De Feria, the title which was offered her, and desired that the rights of the Crown might be secured some other way. After so many alterations the Commons were unwilling to make fresh changes;<sup>2</sup> but a variation of phrase was all that was necessary; and the Act was then conclusively passed—the same essentially—though with its edge slightly blunted—which had originally severed Eng-

Catholic  
bishops sent  
to the  
Tower.

The Supremacy  
Bill is  
passed.

<sup>1</sup> *Privy Council Register*, Eliz., A<sup>o</sup> 1.—*MS.*

<sup>2</sup> De Feria to Philip, April 11: *MS. Simancas*.

land from the jurisdiction of Rome. The Crown became once more, "in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme;" and the bishops and clergy were required to forswear obedience to the Papacy—no longer under the pains of high treason, but as a condition of admission to their benefices. The statutes of Henry the Fourth and Fifth against heresy, with the Act of Mary which revived them, were again repealed; and the Church authorities were forbidden to proceed against any person for any manner of opinion, except such as had been condemned by the first four General Councils, or by the plain words of Scripture, or such as might at a future time be declared heretical by Parliament and Convocation.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the broken idol which Pole had so laboriously replaced was once more flung down from its pedestal. Dagon had fallen at last forever, and De Feria again applied to his master for instructions.

Touching first on other matters, he described the manner in which Elizabeth had received the news of Philip's marriage. "She affected," he said, "one or two little sighs, and then with a smile observed her name was a fortunate one. I told her I was very sorry; but the fault was more with her than with your Majesty; she knew how unwilling I had been to accept her refusal. She admitted the truth of my words; but she said your Majesty could not have been so very much in love with her, or you would have waited three or four months. She did not seem to like it, though two or three of the Council, she told me, were delighted."

"Both she and they," the letter continued, "are alarmed at your alliance with France, and fear that

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes of the Realm*, 1 Eliz. cap. 1.

it bodes no good to them. That pestilential scoundrel Cecil tried to persuade me that they would have liked nothing better than to go on with the war. I bade him say that to some one less well acquainted with the state of the country than I was. Lord Sussex, heretic as he is, has warned the Council that Ireland will rebel if they enforce the alteration of religion there; and the Welsh counties tell Pembroke to send no preachers across the marches, or they will not return alive. The Queen I think would now be glad if she had been less precipitate. Two of the bishops are in the Tower. By entreaties and threats I have delayed the catastrophe as long as possible; but the country is lost to us now body and soul, and it is time for your Majesty to see to it. You have made peace with France; you are at leisure and can do what you please.

“There are two sides to the matter. As to religion I do not pretend to measure your Majesty’s obligations. I can merely say that the Catholics hold your Majesty responsible for the position in which they find themselves. But as a question of public policy you are aware of the just claims of the Queen of Scots; you know the defenceless state of the kingdom and the temptation presented to the King of France by the extreme facility of the conquest; and surely this is a catastrophe which you are bound to prevent. You have desired me to keep things quiet, not to quarrel with the Queen, and not to interfere in religion. I have obeyed your Majesty to the best of my powers; but it is still to be seen how far this can be done. Setting God’s honour out of the question, each step forward which they take in heresy threatens the peace of the realm. The King of France, you are aware,

will appeal to the Pope ; the Pope will excommunicate the Queen, declare her illegitimate, and pronounce in favour of the Dauphiness ; and your Majesty will be more perplexed than ever to know how to act. The French will enter England in the name of Holy Church : the Catholics will unquestionably join them : and how your Majesty can take arms against God — against justice, against truth — I confess myself unable to see. To allow them to succeed (and I am terrified to think how easy it will be for them) is politically ruinous to you ; and to see these things as I see them, and yet to forbear to speak, would be treason against God and your Majesty.”<sup>1</sup>

So appeared England and England's chances to spectators not wholly led astray by Catholic sympathies, who nevertheless were mistaken in the one vital point. That which to them seemed a cause of weakness was in fact the secret spring of recovering life. Under the paralyzing grasp of spiritual tyranny the arm of England hung nerveless by its side. When the free blood was in her veins again she would renew her youth like the moulting eagle.

The doctrinal question came next. The commission for revising the Prayer-book had been busily at work, and on the 18th of April a proposal for its restoration was brought forward in the House of Commons.

The object had been so to frame the constitution of the Church of England that disloyalty alone should exclude a single English subject from its communion who in any true sense could be called a Christian ; so to frame its formulas that they might be patient of a Catholic or Protestant interpretation,

*Theory of  
the Church  
of England.*

<sup>1</sup> De Feria to Philip, April: *MS. Simancas.*



according to the views of this or that sect of the people; that the Church should profess and teach a uniform doctrine in essentials—as the word was understood by the latitudinarians of the age; while in non-essentials it should contain ambiguous phrases, resembling the many watchwords which divided the world; and thus enable Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Zuinglian to insist each that the Church of England was theirs.

The “Articles” were left in abeyance; and happy The Prayer-book and the Articles. it would have been for the Church of England had they never been revived. The rubrics of Edward’s second book were modified, allowing large latitude in the use of ornaments and vestments. In the communion service the words were restored which seemed to recognize the real presence, while the words also were not rejected which seemed equally to reduce the sacrament to a commemorative form.<sup>1</sup>

Thus altered the Prayer-book was presented to Parliament. The Genevan refugees clamoured that they had not been consulted, that “fooleries were made of consequence,” and that “truth was sacrificed to a leaden mediocrity.” At the heart of the matter it

<sup>1</sup> King Edward’s second book appointeth only these words to be used when the bread is delivered at the Communion—“Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee; and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving;” and when the cup is delivered—“Drink this in remembrance that Christ’s blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.” Whereas, in Her Majesty’s book, on the delivering of the bread, these words must be said—“The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this.” &c.; and at the delivery of the cup, these words—“The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Drink this.”—*Strype, Annals*, Vol. I. part i. p. 224. The careful student of the Prayer-book will find the two lines of antagonistic thought represented in the alternative Prayers, which are left to the choice of the clergyman.

was they who were giving importance to what was of no importance; it was they who considered exactness of opinion a necessary condition of Christianity. They would have erected with all their hearts a despotism as hard, as remorseless, as blighting as the Romanist. Happily they found few among the laity to share their views, and they were not permitted to ruin their own cause. In the Commons there was no opposition; in the Lords the bishops still resisted, and they found a support which they had not met with on the Supremacy Bill. Lord Montague alone of the lay peers had opposed absolutely the separation from the Papacy. The old Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and six other noblemen<sup>1</sup> voted against an alteration of the services.

The mass however was not to be saved. The Bishop of Ely who had returned from Cambray said that he would perish rather than see it put away;<sup>2</sup> but to no purpose. The Act of Uniformity<sup>3</sup> passed its three readings in three successive days,<sup>4</sup> and Cranmer's liturgy became again the law of the land.

The revolution was complete. The organization of the country resumed the solid and secular character by which, under Henry the Eighth, in the words of the statute of supremacy, "the realm was kept continually in good order;" and the interests of England were no longer to be sacrificed to the passions of religious partisans. The vessel of the State, though heaving dangerously in the after-roll, was again on her right course, and began slowly to draw away out of the breakers.

<sup>1</sup> Lords Morley, Stafford, Wharton, Rich, North, and Ambrose Dudley the Duke of Northumberland's eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> De Feria to Philip II.: *MS. Simancae*.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Eliz. cap. 2.

Elizabeth, when called on by De Feria to explain the doctrines which her people were to believe, found a difficulty in making herself intelligible. She told him first that the Confession of Augsburg would be received in England, and when he expressed his surprise, she told him it would not be precisely that confession: it would be something like it, and yet different: "in fact," she said, "she believed almost as Catholics believed, for she held that God was really present in the sacrament."

"However," De Feria continued,<sup>1</sup> "she would not argue with me, and I was as little anxious to argue as she was; but I told her I should like to know what the religion was to be, for so far as I could hear there were as many opinions in England as in Germany; and I could not but be surprised that while other princes were laying down their arms and seeking leisure to compose these questions, she who had found her realm in good Catholic order had thrown it back into confusion. She had repealed the good and pious laws of your Majesty and her sister; and had there been nothing else to restrain her, the obligations under which she lay to your Majesty should alone have made her hesitate.

"She said that the laws which she had repealed had been made by her sister before her marriage; your Majesty knew from the first what her opinions were, and so did her sister.

"I assured her your Majesty knew nothing of the kind.

"She professed to be very angry at some comedy in which your Majesty had been insulted, and she said

<sup>1</sup> De Feria to Philip II., April 29: *MS. Simancas*.

she would have the writer of it punished. Such things, I replied, were of small importance compared to the others; although both in jest and earnest she would do well to protect your Majesty from impertinence: and I mentioned by the way that I knew the plan of the comedy to have been furnished by one of her council. It was Cecil — she herself half admitted it to me. But religion, she went on, was a question of conscience, in which in life and death she meant to be constant. She wished she could have three hours' conversation with your Majesty; and she said in conclusion that she hoped to be saved as well as the Bishop of Rome."

A few subsidiary measures now finished the work of legislation. Elizabeth's title was defended by a treason act; the monasteries which Mary had refounded were again dissolved; and on Monday the 8th of May, in the Queen's presence, the Lord Keeper thanked the two Houses for the patience with which they had discussed the grave and weighty matters submitted to them, recommended them to be as diligent in seeing the laws executed as they had been careful in framing them, and declared the Parliament at an end.

Distracted between his creed and his policy the King of Spain, notwithstanding De Feria's urgency, durst not interfere. He was persuaded firmly that without his help Elizabeth's throne could not stand; and he felt himself the responsible cause of the success of what he most detested. To avoid if possible the dilemma with which his ambassador had threatened him, he wrote to the Pope, making the most of Elizabeth's solitary act of virtue in refusing to be called Head of the Church, and requesting him to suspend

May.

Embarrassment of Philip.

his censures till other means had been tried.<sup>1</sup> He bade De Feria make Elizabeth feel the fresh obligations under which he had thus placed her, and press upon her the insanity of a course which eventually would drive him from her side. Meanwhile since she had declined his own hand he had looked out another husband for her, and sent her the choice of his cousins Ferdinand and Carlos, the Austrian Archdukes.

This last suggestion De Feria now warmly approved. He had discovered, he said, that Elizabeth was not likely to have children, and if the Archdukes were men, either of them might with the help which Philip would give him make himself master of the kingdom at her death.<sup>2</sup> He laid the proposal before Elizabeth, who affected to listen most graciously. He assured Philip that there was every prospect of success: his own relations with her however had become so constrained through these repeated differences, that he thought the negotiation could be better conducted by another hand: to recall him, he said, would be a significant and public censure on the revolution, and would confirm the constancy of the Catholics; while for himself he admitted that he found it no easy matter to deal with a woman whose humours were so uncertain, and who was surrounded by advisers too blind and stupid "to comprehend their situation."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Me ha parecido que era tiempo de hacer oficio con su Santidad; y así he mandado despachar sobre ello á Roma avisando á su Santidad del estado en que esta lo de ahí; y de la esperanza que todavía se tiene del remedio; y lo que yo lo deseo y procuro, y que hasta ver lo que aprovecha de lo qual yo avisaré á su Santidad no innove cosa ninguna." — Philip to De Feria, May: *MS. Simancas*

<sup>2</sup> "Silas espías no mi mienten, que no creo, entiendo que ella no tendra hijos; pero si el Archiduque es hombre, aunque ella se muera sin ellos, se podra quedar con el Reyno teniendo las espaldas de V. M<sup>a</sup>." — De Feria to Philip II., April 29: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Sir William Cecil and his friends "comprehended their situation" more entirely perhaps than De Feria himself. They were confident that so long as the only possible rival to Elizabeth was the Dauphiness of France, they might feel sure of Philip, let them do what they would. De Feria's request, however, was complied with. In an autograph letter full of warmth and friendliness Philip announced to Elizabeth that his ambassador's presence was required in Flanders; but that his place should be immediately supplied.<sup>1</sup> De Feria left London, and the Austrian marriage became immediately the all-absorbing topic of public interest in England, in the Low Countries, and throughout Europe.

To the English generally there was everything to recommend it. The house of Burgundy was traditionally popular. Whatever De Feria might dream, there could be no serious peril to English liberty from the younger son of an Austrian emperor; and the nation was feverishly anxious to see the Queen provided with a husband. Elizabeth herself felt and admitted its desirableness. There was but a "little cloud, scarce bigger than a man's hand," which shadowed De Feria's hopes. "They tell me," he wrote before leaving England, "that she is enamoured of my Lord Robert Dudley, and will never let him leave her side. He offers me his services in behalf of the Archduke; but I doubt whether it will be well to use them. He is in such favour that people say she visits him in his chamber day and night. Nay, it is even reported that his wife has a cancer on the breast, and that the Queen waits only till she die to marry him."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Philip II. to Elizabeth: *MS. Hatfield*.

<sup>2</sup> De Feria to Philip, April 18 and April 29: *MS. Simancas*.

“‘Do not believe it, your Majesty,’ I said. ‘His Highness has been so ill for years past with quartan ague and other disorders, that his marriage with any one has been out of the question. Because he is better now the world is full of idle stories about him. Subjects are never weary of talking of their princes.’

“‘That is true,’ she answered. ‘It was reported a few days since in London that the King my brother intended to offer him to me.’

“The play was followed by a masque. A number of people in black and white, which the Queen told me were her colours, came in and danced. One of them afterwards stepped forward and recited a sonnet in her praise; and so the spectacle ended. We adjourned to a saloon, where a long table was laid out with preserved fruits and sweetmeats. It was two in the morning before I started to return to London. The Queen at the same time stepped into her barge, and went down the river to Westminster.”

It is possible that the communications from Lord Robert to the Spanish ambassador were part of a deliberate plot to lead Philip astray after a will-o'-the-wisp; to amuse him with hopes of recovering Elizabeth to the Church, while she was laughing in her sleeve at his credulity. If Lord Robert was too poor a creature to play such a part successfully, it is possible that he too was Elizabeth's dupe. Or again it may have been that Elizabeth was insincere in her offer of Lord Robert to the Queen of Scots, while she was sincere in desiring the recognition of Mary Stuart's title — because she hoped that to escape the succession of a Scottish princess, one party or other would be found in England to tolerate her marriage

with the only person whom she would accept. If the Queen was playing a false game, it is hard to say which hypothesis is the more probable ; yet on the one hand it will be seen that Cecil, Randolph, — every one who has left an opinion on record, — believed that she was in earnest in desiring Mary Stuart to accept Lord Robert ; while on the other hand the readiness with which the Spanish Court listened to Lord Robert's overtures, proves that they at least believed that he had a real hold on Elizabeth's affections ; and it is unlikely, with the clue to English state secrets which the Spanish ministers undoubtedly possessed, that they would have been deceived a second time by a mere artifice. The least subtle explanations of human things are usually the most true. Elizabeth was most likely acting in good faith when she proposed to sacrifice Dudley to the Queen of Scots. Lord Robert as probably clung to his old hopes, and was sincere — so far as he could be sincere at all — in attempting to bribe Philip to support him in obtaining his object.

That this was Philip's own opinion appears certainly from his answer to De Silva.

PHILIP II. TO DE SILVA.

*August 6.*

"Your reply to the advances made to you by Lord Robert's friend was wise and cautious. So long as Cecil remains in power, you must be careful what you do. If means should offer themselves to overthrow him, every consideration should move you not to neglect the opportunity ; but I leave you to your own discretion.

"As to Lord Robert's marriage with the Queen : if



he will assure you that when he becomes her husband he will restore the true, ancient, and Catholic faith, and will bring back the realm under the obedience of the Pope and the Holy See, you may promise in our name that we will assist him to the uttermost of our power.

August.  
Philip will  
befriend  
Lord Robert  
if Lord  
Robert will  
restore the  
Church.

“The propositions of the Irish Catholics you will cut short, courteously but firmly.<sup>1</sup> The time does not suit to encourage rebellion in that quarter. They have applied to me before, and I have answered always in the same tone.

“I have read what you say of the book on the succession; of the Queen’s anger; and of the suspicions indicated to you by Lord Robert that Cecil was at the bottom of it. I avail myself of the occasion to tell you my opinion of that Cecil. I am in the highest degree dissatisfied with him. He is a confirmed heretic; and if with Lord Robert’s assistance you can so inflame the matter as to crush him down, and deprive him of all further share in the administration, I shall be delighted to have it done. If you try it and fail, be careful that you are not yourself seen in the matter.”

Over such mines of secret enmity walked Cecil, standing between his mistress and her lover, and never knowing what a day would bring forth.

At the beginning of August the Court broke up from Richmond. Elizabeth went on progress, and for a time had a respite from her troubles. Among other

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to something in a letter of De Silva’s which is lost. The same letter contained expressions about Lord Robert’s agent in Rome, which would have shown more clearly what De Silva himself thought about Lord Robert. Philip answers—“En lo de aquel caballero Ingles que se tuvó en Roma, y platicas que os avisó mi Embajador que habia tenido con su Santidad, sospechamos lo mismo que vos.”

places she paid a visit to Cambridge, where she had an opportunity of showing herself in her most attractive colours.

The divisions of opinion, the discrepancies of dress and practices by which Cambridge, like all other parts of England, was distracted, were kept out of sight by Cecil's industry. He hurried down before her, persuaded the college authorities for once into obeying the Acts of Uniformity; ordered the fellows and chaplains to appear in surplices; concealed the dreary communion tables in the college chapels behind decent coverings; and having as it were thrown a whitewash of order over the confusion, surprised the Queen into an expression of pleasure. The Church of England was not, after all, the miserable chaos which she had believed; and "contrary to her expectation, she found little or nothing to displease her."

Elizabeth  
goes on  
progress to  
Cambridge.

She was at once thrown into the happiest humour; and she moved about among the dignitaries of the University with combined authority and ease. She exchanged courtesies with them in Latin; when they praised her virtues, she exclaimed "Non est veritas;" when they praised the virgin state, she blessed them for their discernment: she attended their sermons; she was present at their disputations; and when a speaker mumbled she shouted "Loquimini altius." The public orator addressed her in Greek—she replied in the language of Demosthenes. On the last day of her visit she addressed the University in Latin, in the Senate House. In a few well-chosen sentences she complimented the students on their industry; she expressed her admiration of the colleges and chapels—those splendid monuments of the piety of her predecessors.

She trusted, if God spared her life, she might leave her own name not undistinguished by good work done for England.

Not one untoward accident had marred the harmony of the occasion. The Queen remained four days; and left the University with the first sense of pleasure which she had experienced in the ecclesiastical administration. Alas! for the imperfection of human things. The rashness of a few boys marred all.

Elizabeth had been entreated to remain one more evening to witness a play which the students had got up among themselves for her amusement. Having a long journey before her the following day, and desiring to sleep ten miles out of Cambridge to relieve the distance, she had been unwillingly obliged to decline.

The students, too enamoured of their performance to lose the chance of exhibiting it, pursued the Queen to her resting-place. She was tired, but she would not discourage so much devotion, and the play commenced.

The actors entered on the stage in the dress of the imprisoned Catholic bishops. Each of them was distinguished by some symbol suggestive of the persecution. Bonner, particularly, carried a lamb in his arms at which he rolled his eyes and gnashed his teeth. A dog brought up the rear with the host in his mouth. Elizabeth could have better pardoned the worst insolence to herself: she rose, and with a few indignant words left the room; the lights were extinguished, and the discomfited players had to find their way out of the house in the dark, and to blunder back to Cambridge.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to the Duchess of Parma, August 19: *MS. Simancas*. De Silva was not present, but described the scene as he heard it from an eye-

It was but a light matter, yet it served to irritate Elizabeth's sensitiveness. It exposed the dead men's bones which lay beneath the whited surface of University good order; and she went back to London with a heart as heavy as she carried away from it. The vast majority of serious Englishmen, if they did not believe in transubstantiation, yet felt for the sacrament a kind of mysterious awe. Systematic irreverence Disorders in the Church. had intruded into the churches; carelessness and irreligion had formed an unnatural alliance with Puritanism; and in many places the altars were bare boards resting on tressels in the middle of the nave. The communicants knelt, stood, or sat as they pleased; the chalice was the first cup which came to hand; and the clergymen wore surplice, coat, black gown, or their ordinary dress, as they were Lutherans, Calvinists, Puritans, or nothing at all.<sup>1</sup>

The parish churches themselves, those amazing monuments of early piety, built by men who themselves lived in clay hovels, while they lavished their taste, their labour, and their wealth on "the house of God," were still dissolving into ruin. The roofs were breaking into holes; the stained whitewash was crumbling off the damp walls, revealing the half-effaced remains of the frescoed stories of the saints; the painted glass was gone from the windows; the wind and the rain swept through the dreary aisles; while in the churchyards swine rooted up the graves.

And now once more had come a reaction like that which had welcomed Mary Tudor. In quiet English

witniss. The story naturally enough is not mentioned by Nicolls, who details with great minuteness the sunny side of the visit to the University. *Progresses of Elizabeth*, 1564.

<sup>1</sup> Varieties used in the administration of the service, 1564: *Lansdowne MSS.*

homes there arose a passionate craving to be rid of all these things ; to breathe again the old air of reverence and piety ; and Calvinism and profanity were working hand in hand, like twin spirits of evil, making a road for another Mary to reach the English throne.

The progress being over, Elizabeth returned to the weary problems which were thickening round her more and more hopelessly. From France came intelligence that " a far other marriage was meant for the Queen of Scots than the Lord Robert ; with practices to reduce the realm to the old Pope, and to break the

September.  
Lennox goes  
to Scotland.

love between England and Scotland."<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Lennox had been allowed to cross the Border at last, as a less evil than the detaining him by violence ; but Cecil wrote from Cambridge to Maitland, " making no obscure demonstration of foul weather." Parliament was expected to meet again in October, and with Parliament would come the succession question, the Queen's marriage question, and their thousand collateral vexations. Either in real uncertainty, or that she might have something with which

Fresh  
thoughts of  
the Arch-  
duke.

to pacify her subjects, Elizabeth was again making advances towards the eternal Archduke. His old father Ferdinand, who had refused to be trifled with a second time, was dead. Ferdinand had left the world and its troubles on the 25th of July ; but before his death, in a conversation with the Duke of Wirtemberg, he had shown himself less implacable. An opportunity was offered for reopening the suit, and Cecil by the Queen's order sent a message through Mundt the English agent in Germany, to the new Emperor Maximilian, that although for his many excellent qualities the Queen would

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Smith to Cecil (cipher), Sept. 1, 1564: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

gladly have married Lord Robert Dudley, yet finding it impossible, she had brought herself to regard Lord Robert as a brother, and for a husband was thinking of the Archduke.<sup>1</sup> On the 12th of September a resolution of Council was taken to send an embassy to Vienna, ostensibly to congratulate Maximilian on his accession — in reality to feel the way towards “the prince with the large head.”<sup>2</sup> A few days later, during an evening stroll through St. James’s Park, Elizabeth herself told the secret to De Silva, not as anything certain, but as a point towards which her thoughts were turning.<sup>3</sup>

The Queen of Scots meantime, to whom every uttered thought of Elizabeth was known, began to repent of her precipitate explosion of temper. She had obtained what she immediately desired in the return of Lennox; her chief anxiety was now to prevent the Austrian marriage, and to induce Philip, though she could not marry his son, to continue to watch over her interests. In September the Spanish ambassador in Paris wrote that his steps were haunted by Beton, Mary’s minister; he had met the advances made to him with coldness and indifference; but Beton had pressed upon him with unwearied assiduity; <sup>4</sup> desiring,

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Mundt, September 8, 1564: *Jussu Reginae*. Burleigh Papers, Haines, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> “Some one is to be sent with condolences on the death of the Emperor — Sir H. Sidney, or Sir N. Throgmorton, or I, or Lord Robert; which it shall be I think nobody yet knoweth. But to tell you the truth, there is more meant than condolence or congratulation. It may be an intention for the marriage with the Archduke. This may be very strange, and therefore I pray you keep it very close.” — Cecil to Sir T. Smith, September 12, 1564: Wright, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> De Silva to the Duchess of Parma, September 23: *M.S. Simancas*. Elizabeth said that the court fool advised her to have nothing to do with Germans, who were a poor, heavy-headed set.

<sup>4</sup> Don F. de Alava to Philip II., September 26, 1564. Teulet, Vol. V.  
VOL. VIII.

as it appeared afterwards, to learn what Philip would do for his mistress in the event of her marriage with Darnley.

At the same time it was necessary to soothe Elizabeth, lest she might withdraw her protection, and allow Parliament to settle the succession unfavourably to the Scottish claims. Maitland therefore having forfeited Cecil's confidence, the Queen of Scots obtained the services of a man who, without the faintest pretensions to statesmanship, was as skilled an intriguer as

Europe possessed. Sixteen years had passed since Sir James Melville had gone as a boy with Monluc, Bishop of Valence, to the Irish Castle, where Monluc by his light ways was brought to shame. From the Bishop, Melville had passed to the Constable Montmorency. From Montmorency he had gone to the Elector Palatine, and had worked himself into a backstairs intimacy with European courts and princes. Mary Stuart herself had probably known him in France; and in the spring of 1564 she wrote to request him to return to Scotland, to be employed in secret service. So highly she valued his abilities, that notwithstanding her poverty she settled on him an annual pension of a thousand marks — twice the income perhaps of the richest nobleman in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> He was already acquainted with Elizabeth, who, according to his own account, had spoken confidentially with him about the Queen of Scots' marriage.

This Melville it was whom Mary Stuart now selected to be her instrument to pacify and cheat Elizabeth, to strengthen her party at the English Court, and to arrange with Lady Lennox for Darnley's escape to Scot-

<sup>1</sup> So Melville himself says in his *Memoirs*; but Melville's credibility is a very open question.

Character  
and story of  
Sir James  
Melville.

land. She directed him to apologize to Elizabeth for the hasty letter which she had written, and to beg that it might be forgotten. He was to entreat her not to allow his mistress's interests to suffer any prejudice in Parliament; and further, he had secret instructions from Mary's own lips, the nature of which he indicates without explaining himself more completely — "to deal with the Spanish ambassador, Lady Margaret Douglas, and sundry friends she had in England of different opinions."

Melville left Edinburgh towards the end of September,<sup>1</sup> preceded by Randolph, who, after communicating with Elizabeth, was on the point of returning to Scotland at the time of Melville's arrival. The information which Randolph had brought had been utterly unsatisfactory, and Elizabeth was harassed into illness and was in the last stage of despair. "I am in such a labyrinth about the Queen of Scots," she wrote on the 23d of September to Cecil, "that what to say to her or how to satisfy her I know not. I have left her letter to me all this time unanswered, nor can I tell what to answer now. Invent something kind for me which I can enter in Randolph's commission, and give me your opinion about the matter itself."<sup>2</sup>

In this humour Melville found Elizabeth. She was walking, when he was introduced, in the garden at

<sup>1</sup> The copy of his instructions, printed in his *Memoirs*, is dated September 28. But Melville was in London on Michaelmas-day, when Lord Robert Dudley was created Earl of Leicester, and was present at the ceremony; 28 is perhaps a misprint for 20.

<sup>2</sup> "In ejusmodi labyrintho posita sum de responso meo reddendo ad Reginam Scotia, ut nesciam quomodo illi satisfaciam, quum neque toto isto tempore illi ullum responsum dederim, nec quid mihi dicendum nunc sciam. Invenias igitur aliquid boni quod in mandatis scriptis Randall dare possim, et in hac causâ tuam opinionem mihi indica." Endorsed in Cecil's hand — "The Queen's Majesty's writing, being sick, September 23." — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*



Westminster. He was not a stranger, and the Queen rarely allowed herself to be long restrained by ceremony. She began immediately to speak of "the Queen of Scots' spiteful letter" to her. "She was minded," she said, "to answer it with another as spiteful" in turn. She took what she had written out of her pocket, read it aloud, and said that she had refrained from sending it only because it was too gentle.

Melville, accustomed to courts and accustomed to Elizabeth, explained, and protested, and promised. With his excuses he mingled flattery, which she could swallow when mixed by a far less skilful hand; in his first interview he so far talked her into good humour that "she did not send her angry letter;" and although he satisfied himself at the same time that she was dealing insincerely with his mistress, he perhaps in this allowed his suspicions to mislead him. Elizabeth was only too happy to believe in promises which it was her interest to find true. Personally, she cared as little for the Queen of Scots as the Queen of Scots cared for her: but Mary Stuart's position and Mary Stuart's claims created an intense political difficulty, for which there appeared but one happy solution; and Elizabeth, so far as can be seen from the surface of the story, clutched at any prospect of a reasonable settlement with an eager credulity. Melville might indeed naturally enough believe Elizabeth as insincere as he knew himself to be. At the very moment when he was delivering Mary's smooth messages, apologies, and regrets, he knew himself to be charged with a secret commission to the Catholic conspirators; but Elizabeth's duplicity does not follow from his own, and she may at least be credited with having been honest, when she

First interview between Sir James Melville and Elizabeth.

had no interest in being otherwise. She saw the Scotch ambassador daily, and the Queen of Scots' marriage was the incessant subject of discussion. Melville said his mistress would refer it to a commission. Murray and Maitland might meet Bedford and Lord Robert at Berwick, to talk it over.

"Ah!" she said, "you make little of Lord Robert, naming him after the Earl of Bedford. I mean to make him a greater earl, and you shall see it done. I take him as my brother and my best friend."

She went on to say that she would have married Lord Robert herself had she been able. As she might not, she wished her sister to marry him; and "that done," "she would have no suspicion or fear of any usurpation before her death, being assured that Dudley was so loving and trusty that he would never permit anything to be attempted during her time."<sup>1</sup>

"My Lord Robert's promotion in Scotland is earnestly intended," Cecil wrote a few days later to Sir Thomas Smith.<sup>2</sup> On Michaelmas-day he was created Earl of Leicester at Westminster in Melville's presence — to qualify him for his higher destiny; while Elizabeth, vain of his beauty, showed off his fair proportions and dwelt on the charms which she was sacrificing.

Lord Robert  
Dudley is  
created Earl  
of Leicester.

Nor was she unaware of Melville's secret practices, or of Mary's secret desires. "You like better," she said sadly to the ambassador, "you like better yonder long lad" — pointing to Darnley, who, tall and slim, with soft and beardless face, bore the sword of state at the ceremony.

To throw her off the scent, Melville answered that "no woman of spirit could choose such an one, who

<sup>1</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> Cecil to Smith, October 4: Wright, Vol. I.

more resembled a woman than a man." "I had no will," he said of himself, "that she should think that I had an eye that way, although I had a secret charge to deal with Lady Lennox to procure liberty for him to go to Scotland."

Elizabeth was not deceived, but she chose to blind herself. Clinging to her favourite scheme, she allowed a legal opinion to be drawn out in favour of the Scottish title. She promised Melville that when Parliament met she would again protect his mistress's interests. The poor Archduke was to be once more cast overboard; she undertook to bind herself never to marry unless "necessitated by her sister's hard behaviour;" and last of all — as the strongest evidence which she could give that she was acting in good faith

October.  
The meeting  
of Parlia-  
ment is  
postponed.

— she risked the discontent which would inevitably be provoked, and postponed the Parliament till the spring or the following autumn. Randolph, who had been detained on Melville's arrival, was sent off to tell Mary that "the tragedy created by her letter had turned into comedy;" the Queen of England would consent with pleasure to the proposed meeting of commissioners; and meanwhile — "contrary to the expectation and desire of her people, contrary to the disposition of no small number of her council, and also to some detriment of herself for her own private lucre, by the intention of her people to have gratified her with some subsidy — her Majesty had by proclamation prolonged her Parliament that should have been even now begun in October: meaning of purpose to have no assembly wherein the interests of her sister might be brought in question, until it were better considered that no harm might thereof ensue to her, and that her Majesty and the Queen of

Scots might have further proceedings in the establishment of their amity." <sup>1</sup>

In the delay of the Parliament the Queen of Scots had gained one step of vital moment; she had next to obtain the consent of her own people to her marriage with Darnley; she had to strengthen the Lennox faction, that it might be strong enough to support her against the Hamiltons; and when this was done, to get the person of Darnley into her hands.

Lennox himself was distributing presents with lavish generosity in the court at Holyrood. Melville, when he returned to Scotland, carried back with him Lady Margaret's choicest jewels to be bestowed to the best advantage. For the full completion of the scheme, it was necessary to delude Elizabeth into the belief that Mary Stuart would give way about Leicester; and having satisfied her that she really had nothing to fear from Darnley's visit to Edinburgh, to obtain leave of absence for him for three months to assist Lennox in the recovery of his property. When the father and son were once on Scottish soil, she could then throw off the mask.

The ambassador had employed his time well in England making friends for his mistress, and had carried back with him from London profuse promises of service; some from honourable men, who looked to Mary Stuart's succession as a security for the peace of the country, some from the courtier race, who desired to save their own fortunes should the revolution come.

Among these last was Leicester — that very Leicester in whose affection Elizabeth was blindly confid-

Mary  
Stuart's  
friends in  
England.

<sup>1</sup> Message sent by Randolph to the Queen of Scots, October 4: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

ing, who was to be her own protection when she had named Mary Stuart her heir. The man who thought it no preposterous ambition to aspire to the hand of Elizabeth, excused himself to Melville with abject apologies, as having been forced to appear as the suitor of a princess whose shoes he was unworthy to loose; he implored the Queen of Scots to pardon him for "the proud pretences which were set forward for his undoing by Cecil and his secret enemies."<sup>1</sup>

On the position and views of Lord Robert — on the state of feeling at the court — on the Scotch and other questions — additional light is thrown by a letter of De Silva, written on the 9th of October.

#### DE SILVA TO PHILIP.<sup>2</sup>

*London, October 9.*

"The gentleman sent hither from the court of Scotland has returned, and this Queen has written by him to say, that for various reasons there will be no Parliament this year. The succession question, therefore, will be allowed to rest. She says she is not so old that her death need be so perpetually dragged before her.

"Cecil has intimated to the heretical bishops that they must look to their clergy; the Queen is determined to bring them to order, and will no longer tolerate their extravagances.

Elizabeth  
intends to  
check the  
Protestants.

"He desires them too to be careful how they proceed against the Catholics; the Queen will not have her good subjects goaded into sedition by calumnies on their creed, or by irritating inquiries into their conduct. I am told that the bishops do not like these cautions. Cecil understands his mistress, and says nothing to her but what she likes to hear. He thus keeps her in

<sup>1</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Simancas*.

good humour and maintains his position. Lord Robert is obliged to be on terms with him, although at heart he hates him as much as ever. Cecil has more genius than the rest of the Council put together, and is therefore envied and hated on all sides.

"The Queen, happening to speak to me about the beginning of her reign, mentioned that circumstances had at first obliged her to dissemble her real feelings in religion; but God knew, she said, that her heart was sound in his service; with more to the same purpose: she wanted to persuade me that she was orthodox, but she was less explicit than I could have wished.

"I told her (she knew it already) that the preachers railed at her in the most insolent language for keeping the cross on the altar of her chapel. She answered that she meant to have crosses generally restored throughout the realm.

"Again and again she has said to me, 'I am insulted both in England and abroad for having shown more favour than I ought to have shown to the Lord Robert. I am spoken of as if I were an immodest woman. I ought not to wonder at it: I have favoured him because of his excellent disposition, and for his many merits; but I am young, and he is young, and therefore we have been slandered. God knows they do us grievous wrong, and the time will come when the world will know it also. I do not live in a corner—a thousand eyes see all that I do, and calumny will not fasten on me forever.'

"She went on to speak of the Queen of Scots, whose beauty she warmly praised.

"'Some tell me,' she said, 'that my sister will marry your Prince after all.'

"I laughed, and said that the last story which I had

heard was, that the Queen of Scots was to marry the King of France.

"She said that could not be, 'The Queen-mother and the Queen of Scots were not good friends.'

"The Lord Robert, whom they now call Earl of Leicester, has been with me again, repeating his protestations of a desire to be of use to your Majesty. He mentioned particularly the troubles in the Low Countries, and the necessity of taking steps to pacify them.

Lord Robert  
and the  
Spanish  
ambassador.

"I assured him of the confidence which your Majesty felt in his integrity, and of the desire which you entertained for his advancement. I repeated the words which the Queen had used to me about religion; and I said that now, when she was so well disposed, there was an opportunity for him which he should not allow to escape. If the Queen could make up her mind to marry him, and to reunite England to the Catholic Church, your Majesty would stand by him, and he should soon experience the effects of your Majesty's good-will towards him; the Queen's safety should be perfectly secured, and he should be himself maintained in the reputation and authority which he deserved.

"He answered that the Queen had put it off so long that he had begun to fear she would never marry him at all. He professed himself very grateful for my offer, but of religion he said nothing. In fact he is too ill-informed in such matters to take a resolute part on either side, unless when he has some other object to gain.

"I told him that the dependence of the Catholics was wholly on the Queen and himself. To him they attributed the preservation of the bishops and of the

other prisoners ; and I said that by saving their lives he had gained the good-will of all Christian princes abroad and of all the Catholics at home, who, as he well knew, were far more numerous than those of the new religion. The heretics notoriously hated both him and his mistress, and had not the Catholics been so strong would long ago have given them trouble ; the Queen could see what was before her in the book on the succession, which, after all, it appeared she was afraid to punish.

“ His manner was friendly, but I know not what he will do. Had the Catholics as much courage as the heretics he would declare for them quickly enough, for he admits that they are far the larger number ; things are in such a state that the father does not trust his child.”

To return to the Queen of Scots' marriage. Notwithstanding Lennox's efforts and Lady Margaret's jewels, the Scottish noblemen were difficult to manage. Mary Stuart was still unable to act without her brother and Maitland ; and the Earl of Murray was a better Protestant than Knox believed him to be ; and Maitland's broad statesmanship had little in common with the scheming conspiracies which were hatched in the chambers of priests. Maitland's single object was the union of the realms, where Scotland, in compensation for the surrender of its separate independence, would have the pride of giving a sovereign to its ancient enemy. While, therefore, he was zealous for the honour of his mistress, he had no interest in those collateral objects of religious revolution and personal revenge of which Mary was in such keen pursuit. With the Darnley connexion, as it appeared after-



wards, he had no sympathy, unless Darnley was freely offered by Elizabeth, and the choice was freely sanctioned by the two Parliaments.

So far, therefore, Maitland was ill suited for the Queen of Scots' purposes; on the other hand, he was by far the ablest minister that she possessed. He was fanatically eager — so far as a man of so cool and clear an intellect could be fanatical about anything — to secure the English succession for her; and aware of his value, she named him with her brother to meet the English commissioners, and consider in form Elizabeth's proposals.

The conference was to be kept secret from the world. The Queen of Scots would go to Dunbar in the middle of November. The two ministers would leave her as if for a few days' hawking on the Tweed, and the Governor of Berwick would invite them to visit him.

Lord Bedford and Randolph were to represent England; and Elizabeth's instructions to them are a fresh evidence of the feelings with which she regarded Leicester. When Leicester's name was first officially mentioned, Maitland had urged on Cecil the propriety of leaving Mary's choice of a husband as little restricted as possible. If Elizabeth objected to a foreign prince, she must at least permit a free selection among the Scotch and English nobility. Besides Darnley, there was Norfolk, there was Arundel — each more eligible than the son of the parvenu Northumberland; and Elizabeth had no right to demand more than a marriage which did not threaten herself or the liberty of England.

But Elizabeth's heart was fixed on Leicester, and she could see no merit anywhere but in him. "Among all English noblemen," she said, in giving her direc-

Proposed  
Conference  
between  
Scotch and  
English  
Commis-  
sioners.

tions to the commissioners, "she could see none for her own contentation meet for the purpose than one who for his good gifts she esteemed fit to be placed in the number of kings and princes; for so she thought him worthy: and if he were not born her subject, but had happened with these qualities to be as nobly born under some other prince as he was under herself, the world should have well perceived her estimation of him. The advantage of the marriage to the Earl of Leicester would not be great, but to the Queen of Scots it would be greater than she could have with any other person. The Earl would bring with him no controversy of title to trouble the quietness of the Queen of Scots, and she preferred him to be the partaker of the Queen of Scots' fortunes, whom, if it might lie in her power, she would make owner and heir of her own kingdom. She had already placed a check on all other pretenders to the succession; and whatever sovereign might do in the direction of the matter for her sister's advantage should not be wanting. If, after her recognition, the Queen of Scots should desire to reside in England, she would herself bear the charge of the family both of her and of the Earl of Leicester, as should be meet for one sister to do for another."

But Elizabeth admitted that before the recognition could be carried through Parliament, the Queen of Scots must first accept the indispensable condition. She should receive the prize which hung before her eyes only when she was Leicester's wife, and till that time she must be contented with a promise that she should not be disappointed. "If she require to be assured first," Elizabeth continued, with an appearance of mournful sincerity, "if she will not marry till an

Instructions  
to Bedford  
and Randolph.

Act of Succession in her favour has been actually passed, you may of yourselves say it may work in us some scruple to imagine that in all this friendship nothing is more minded than how to possess that which we have; and that it is but a sorrowful song to pretend more shortness of our life than is cause, or as though if God would change our determination in not desiring to marry, we should not by likelihood have children. We can mean no better than we do to our sister; we doubt not that she shall quietly enjoy all that is due to her, and the more readier we are so to do, because we are so naturally disposed with great affection towards her, as before God we wish her right to be next to us before all other.”<sup>1</sup>

Mary Stuart herself meanwhile was in close communication with Lady Lennox, and was receiving from her more and more assurances of the devotion of the English Catholics. Randolph, on his return to Edinburgh from London, found Maitland open-mouthed at the suspension of the prosecution of Hales for his book on the succession. The Scotch Court had expected that he would have been “put to death as a traitor.”

Randolph protested against the word “traitor,” inasmuch as it implied “the certainty of the Queen of Scots’ claim,” “which many in England did not believe to be certain at all.” “Hales had not deserved death,” he said, “and imprisonment was the worst which could be inflicted.”

Maitland spoke menacingly of the disaffection among the Catholics. Randolph “bade him not make too much account of conspirators;” “the behaviour of the Scotch Court,” he said, “was so strange that he could

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Bedford and Randolph, October 7, 1564: *Scotch MSS Rolls House*.

only suppose they meant to quarrel with England ; ”  
 “ and with these words they grew both into further  
 choler than wisdom led them.”<sup>1</sup>

Mary’s own language was still smooth, affectionate,  
 and confiding ; but Maitland, and even Murray, pro-  
 tested beforehand that when the commission met they  
 would agree to no conditions and accept no marriage  
 for their mistress, unless her title was first fully ad-  
 mitted and confirmed. Darnley’s name was not men-  
 tioned ; but “ it was through the mouths of all men  
 that it was a thing concluded in the Queen’s heart ; ”  
 and Randolph was under the mistaken impression that  
 Maitland was as much in favour of it as his mistress.<sup>2</sup>

“ Their object,” Randolph on the 7th of November  
 wrote to Elizabeth, “ is to have the Lord Darnley  
 rather offered by your Majesty than desired of them-  
 selves ; ” “ but your Majesty, I am assured, will con-  
 sider the unfitness of the match for greater  
 causes than I can think of any — of which  
 not the least will be the loss of many a godly  
 man’s heart that by your Majesty enjoyeth now the  
 liberty of their country, and know but in how short a  
 time they shall lose the same, if your Majesty give  
 your consent to match her with such an one as either  
 by dissention at home or lack of knowledge of God  
 and his word may persecute them that profess the  
 same.”<sup>3</sup>

November.  
 Objections  
 to the  
 Darnley  
 marriage.

The Scotch Protestants comprehended instinctively  
 the thousand dangers to which they would be exposed.  
 The House of Lennox was the hereditary enemy of  
 the Hamiltons, who had headed the Revolution of

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, October 24: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Same to same, October 31: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *MS. Ibid.*

1559. Darnley was known to be a Catholic; and his marriage with Mary Stuart was well understood to mean a Catholic revolution.

"The terrible fear is so entered into their hearts," continued Randolph, "that the Queen tendeth only to that, that some are well willing to leave their country, others with their force to withstand it, the rest with patience to endure it, and let God work His will."

Maitland seems to have believed that Mary Stuart would be moderate and reasonable, even if she was recognized unconditionally, and was left to choose her own husband; he professed to imagine that some "liberty of religion" could be established in the modern and at that time impossible sense in which wolf and dog, Catholic and Protestant, could live in peace together, neither worried nor worrying each other. But few of the serious Reformers shared his hope; and a gap was already opening wide between him and the Earl of Murray. Maitland was inclined to press England "to the uttermost;" Randolph, in a private conversation with Murray, "found in that nobleman a marvellous good will" to be guided by Elizabeth, although he was disturbed by the conflict of duties. The Earl, as the meeting of the commissioners approached, in his perplexity sent Elizabeth a message "that whatever he might say, or however vehement he might seem to be in his mistress's cause, he hoped her Majesty would not take it as if he was in any way wanting in devotion to her." Both Murray and Randolph were nervously conscious of their incapacity to cope with Maitland in a diplomatic encounter.

"To meet with such a match," Randolph wrote to Elizabeth, "your Majesty knoweth what wits had been fit. How far he exceedeth the compass of one or two

heads that is able to govern a Queen and guide a whole realm alone, your Majesty may well think. How unfit I am, and how able is he to go beyond me, I would it were not as I know it to be.”<sup>1</sup>

Little time was lost in preparation. On the 18th of November the four commissioners met at <sup>Conference at Berwick.</sup> Berwick: Bedford, a plain, determined man, with the prejudices of a Protestant and the resolution of an English statesman; Randolph, true as Bedford to Elizabeth, but entangled deeply in the intricacies of diplomacy, and moving with more hesitation; Murray, perplexed as we have seen; and Maitland, at home in the element in which he played with the practised pleasure of a master.

The preliminaries were soon disposed of. Both sides agreed on the desirableness of the union of the realms; and the English ministers admitted the propriety of the recognition of the Queen of Scots, if adequate securities could be provided for Elizabeth's safety and for the liberties of the realm.

The main subject was then approached. Lord Bedford said that his mistress would undertake to favour Mary Stuart's title if Mary Stuart would marry where the English Council wished; and he proposed the Earl of Leicester as a suitable husband for her.

“The Earl of Leicester,” Maitland replied, “was no fit marriage for his mistress taken alone; and he desired to be informed more particularly what the

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Elizabeth, November 7: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.* On the same day Randolph wrote to Leicester. “I would you were to be at Berwick to say somewhat for yourself, for there I assure you somewhat will be said of you that for your lordship may tend to little good. How happy is your life that between these two Queens are tossed to and fro. Your lordship's luck is evil if you light not in some of their laps that love so well to play.” — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

Queen of England was prepared to do in addition. Indefinite promises implied merely that she did not wish the Queen of Scots to make a powerful alliance ; his mistress could not consent to make an inferior marriage while the Queen of England was left unfettered ; the Queen of England might herself marry and have children."

"It is not the intention of the Queen of England," said Randolph, "to offer the Lord Robert only as Earl of Leicester without further advancement. She desires to deal openly, fairly, and kindly ; but neither will her Majesty say what she will do more, nor ought she to say, till she knows in some degree how her offer will be embraced." "As you," he said particularly to Maitland, "have spoken an earnest word, so I desire without offence to have another, which is, that if you think by finesse, policy, or practice, or any other means, to wring anything out of her Majesty's hands, you are but abused and do much deceive yourselves."

As much as this had probably been foreseen on all sides. Maitland wished to extort an independent admission of Mary's claims from which Elizabeth would not afterwards be able to recede ; the English would admit nothing until Mary had consented generally to conditions which would deprive her of the power of being dangerous. But it seems that they were empowered, if Leicester was unacceptable, to give the Queen of Scots the larger choice which Maitland demanded. Cecil had foreseen that Leicester would be rejected. "I think," he said, writing on the 26th of November to Sir Thomas Smith, "that no marriage is more likely to succeed than —, *if it may come from them.*"

The name omitted was doubtless Darnley's. De

Silva, in describing the conference to Philip, said that the English commissioners had given the Scots the alternative of Leicester, Norfolk, or Darnley.<sup>1</sup>

Of Norfolk, at that time, there had been little December. mention or none. Darnley, perhaps, Elizabeth would have consented to allow, if the Queen of Scots would ask for him ; for in giving way to Mary Stuart's wishes she could have accompanied her consent with restrictions which would render the marriage innocuous ; while the Queen of Scots, on the other side, would have accepted Darnley had Elizabeth offered him ; for Elizabeth would have been unable to shackle her own proposal with troublesome stipulations.

No matter what promises Elizabeth might make, no matter to what engagements she might bind herself, the Queen of Scots had long resolved to agree to nothing which would alienate the Catholics. As Maitland had told the Bishop of Aquila, she could have no confidence that any engagement would be observed, unless she was supported by a force independent of Elizabeth ; and if she married Darnley, it was necessary for her to keep unimpaired her connexion with the party of insurrection, and with the foreign Catholic powers.

Thus neither side would be the first to mention Darnley. The arguments played round the mark, but never reached it ; and at last, when there was no longer a hope of a satisfactory end, the commissioners found it was useless to waste time longer. They parted without a quarrel, yet without a conclusion, Maitland summing up his own demands in the following words : —

“ That the Queen of England would permit his mistress to marry where she would, saving in Final demands of the Scots, those royal houses where she desired her to

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, December 18: *MS Simancas*.



forbear; that her Majesty would give her some yearly revenue out of the realm of England, and by Parliament establish unto her the crown, if God did his will on her Majesty and left her without children; in so doing, her Majesty might have the honour to have made the marriage, and be known to the world to have used the Queen of Scots as a dear and loving sister."<sup>1</sup>

Immediately after the breaking up of the conference, Mary Stuart wrote to request that Lord Darnley might be allowed to join his father in Scotland, and assist him in the recovery of the Lennox estates. Had Elizabeth anticipated what would follow, she would probably, instead of complying, have provided Darnley with a lodging in the Tower. But the reports from Scotland were contradictory; Lennox said openly that "his son should marry the Queen;" yet Randolph "knew of many, by that which had been spoken of her own mouth, that the marriage should never take effect, if otherwise she might have her desire." Lennox had succeeded imperfectly in making a party amongst the Lords; and Darnley's elevation to the Crown of Scotland would wake a thousand sleeping feuds. The requested permission was suspended without being refused; while Elizabeth began again as usual to play with thoughts of the Archduke. Cecil sent to Germany to urge Maximilian to propose in form for her hand;<sup>2</sup> while, stranger still, Catherine de Medici meditated an alliance between Elizabeth and her son Charles the Ninth. Elizabeth was twenty-nine, and Charles not more than fourteen; but political convenience had overruled more considerable inequalities; and though Elizabeth affected to laugh at the sugges-

<sup>1</sup> Report of the Conference at Berwick: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> Roger Strange to Gaspar Pregnyar, February 1, 1565: Haynes, Vol. I.

tion as absurd, De Silva reminded her that the difference of age was scarcely greater than that between Philip and her sister; while the Queen-mother of France made the proposal, as will presently be seen, in perfect seriousness.<sup>1</sup>

On their return to Edinburgh from Berwick, Maitland and Murray wrote a joint letter to Cecil, in which they recapitulated their arguments at the conference, and put forward again the demand on behalf of their mistress with which Maitland had concluded. They dwelt on the marriages abroad which were offered to her acceptance — far exceeding in general desirableness that which was proposed by Elizabeth. They expressed themselves, however, deferentially, and professed a desire which both of them really felt, for a happy termination of the difficulty.

Maitland  
and Murray  
write to  
Cecil.

Cecil's answer was straightforward, consistent, and honourable. He was glad to perceive from their letter, he said, that they were beginning to comprehend the Queen of England's real feelings. If they persisted in the tone which they had first assumed, they would alienate England altogether. They talked of proposals to marry their mistress in this place and that; there were proposals for his own mistress as well, and they would do better in confining themselves to the subject which was immediately before them. They professed to desire to know the Queen of England's real wishes. They knew them already perfectly well. His mistress had never varied either in her words or in her intentions. She wished well to the Queen of Scots. She had no objection to the Queen of Scots' recognition as second person, if England could be satisfied that its liberties would not be in danger.

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, October 9: *MS. Simancae*.

“And now,” Cecil said, “in return for this, you propose that the Queen’s Majesty should permit your Sovereign to marry where she would, saving in some places prohibited, and in that consideration to give her some yearly revenue out of the realm of England, and by Parliament establish the succession of the realm to her; and then, you add, that it might be the Queen’s Majesty’s desire would take effect. Surely, my Lord of Ledington, I see by this — for it was your speech — you can well tell how to make your bargain. Her Majesty will give the Earl of Leicester the highest degree that any nobleman may receive of her hand; but you look for more — you would have with him the establishment of your Sovereign’s title to be declared in the second place to the Queen’s Majesty. The Queen’s Majesty will never agree to so much of this request, neither in form nor substance, as with the noble gentleman already named. If you will take him she will cause inquisition to be made of your Sovereign’s right; and as far as shall stand with justice and her own surety, she will abase such titles as shall be proved unjust and prejudicial to her sister’s interest. You know very well that all the Queen’s Majesty mindeth to do must be directed by the laws and by the consent of the three Estates; she can promise no more but what she can with their assent do. The Queen of England, if trusted as a friend, may and will do what she will never contract or bargain to do, or submit to be pressed to do. It is a fickle matter to provoke sovereigns to determine their succession.

“Wherefore, good my Lords,” Cecil concluded, “think hereof, and let not this your negotiation, which is full of terms of friendship, be converted into a bar-

gain or purchase; so as while in the outward face it appears a design to conciliate these two Queens and countries by a perpetual amity, in the unwrapping thereof there be not found any other intention but to compass at my Sovereign's hands a kingdom and a crown, which if sought for, may be sooner lost than gotten, and not being craved, may be as soon offered as reason can require. Almighty God assist you with His spirit in your deliberation upon this matter to make choice of that which shall increase his glory, and fortify the truth of the gospel in this isle."<sup>1</sup>

Before this letter reached Scotland, Maitland had become disposed to receive it in the spirit in which it was written. He had expressed his regret to Randolph for having "meddled" with English Catholic conspirators: he was drawing off from the dangerous policy to which he appeared to have committed himself; and Randolph, who a month before had been more afraid of him than of any man in Scotland, wrote on the 16th of December, the date of Cecil's despatch, that "he never thought better of him than at that moment."<sup>2</sup>

So anxious Maitland seemed to be to recover the confidence of the English Government, that except for the opposition which he continued to offer — when opposition had become dangerous — to the Darnley marriage, it might have been thought that he was in league with Mary to throw Elizabeth off her guard. His motives must in part remain obscure. He had perhaps become acquainted with Darnley in England, and had foreseen the consequences if a youth of such a temperament came in too close contact with his mis-

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Maitland and Murray, December 16: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, December 16: *MS. Ibid.*

tress. Perhaps, too, he had never meant to do more than play with poisoned tools; and withdrew when he saw that Elizabeth would not be frightened with them. But an obvious reason for Maitland's change of posture was to be found in the new advice and the new advisers that were finding favour with the Queen of Scots. Two years before, M. de Moret, the ambassador from Savoy, had brought in his suite to Mary Stuart's court an Italian named David Ritzio. The youth—he was

January.  
David Ritzio  
in favour  
with Mary  
Stuart.

about thirty—became a favourite of Mary. Like Châtelar, he was an accomplished musician; he soothed her hours of solitude with love songs, and he had the graceful tastes with which she delighted to amuse her leisure. He had glided gradually into her more serious confidence, as she discovered that he had the genius of his countrymen for intrigue, and that his hatred for the Reformers rivalled her own in its intensity.

The adroit diplomacy of statesmen found less favour in Mary's cabinet than the envenomed weapons of deliberate fraud. She shook off the control of the one supremely able minister that she possessed, and she went on with renewed spirit, disembarassed of a companion who was too honourable for her present schemes. To the change of counsellors may be attributed her sudden advance in the arts of intrigue. On a sudden, none knew why, she professed a readiness to yield to

February.  
Mary Stuart  
affects a  
willingness  
to marry  
Leicester.

Elizabeth's wishes. "Her mind to the Lord Robert," she said to Randolph at the end of January, "was as it ought to be to so noble a gentleman;" "such a one as his mistress would marry, were he not her subject, ought to content her;" "what she would do should depend on the Queen of England, who should wholly guide her and

rule her.”<sup>1</sup> She deceived Maitland as she deceived Randolph, and Maitland wrote warmly to Cecil, full of hopes “that the great work at which they had so long laboured together, the union of the two countries, would be accomplished at last to their perpetual honour.”<sup>2</sup> It appears as if she had persuaded him that she had looked the Darnley marriage in the face, and had turned away from it as too full of danger; and even Cecil was so far convinced that he entered in his diary at the date of these letters — “Mr. Randolph writeth at length of the Queen of Scots’ allowance of my Lord of Leicester, and giveth great appearance of success in the marriage.”<sup>3</sup>

On the 6th of February, Randolph wrote again to Leicester as if there was no longer any doubt that he would be accepted. “This Queen,” he said, “is now content to give good ear to her Majesty’s suit in your behalf; she judges you worthy to be husband to any Queen.”<sup>4</sup> And though Randolph himself still vaguely anticipated evil, and though other persons who understood the state of things in Scotland shared his misgivings,<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth permitted herself to be persuaded that

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, February 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Maitland to Cecil, January 16 and February 1: *MS. Rolls House.*

<sup>3</sup> Cecil’s *Diary*, February 5.

<sup>4</sup> Randolph to Leicester, February 6: Wright, Vol. I.

<sup>5</sup> Among the *Conway MSS.* there is a remarkable paper, unsigned and unaddressed, on the Lennox question in Scotland, and on the views supposed to be entertained by Lady Lennox and her husband. It shows how remarkably the religious parties were intersected by family feuds; and how disintegrating and dangerous to the Catholic party in Scotland the marriage of Mary Stuart and Darnley must have been.

#### NOTE OF AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

February 3, 1564-65.

“Enemies to the Earl of Lennox — All the Protestants of that realm in general, and in special the Duke of Chatelherault, with all the Hamiltons in Clydesdale, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh; the Bishop of St. Andrew’s; the Abbot of Kilwinning; the Bishop of Glasgow; all the Betons; the allies of

Mary Stuart was at last sincere. Cecil and Leicester shared her confidence, or were prepared to risk the experiment; and Darnley was allowed leave of absence

the late Cardinal of St. Andrew's; the Laird of Borthwick, and all the Scots. The Earl of Argyle, sister's son to the Duke; all the Campbells; the Earl of Glencairn, whose eldest son is sister's son to the Duke; and all the Cunninghams. The Earl of Eglinton was never good Lennox. The Earl of Cassilis, young, and of small conduct. The remnants of Huntley's house will favour the Duke, and so will James M'Connell, and others of the Isles. The Lord James and Ledington in their hearts have misliked Lennox; unless now, in hope to continue their rule in that realm, they may be changed. The Earl of Morton, being Chancellor; the young Earl of Angus, Drumlanrig, and all the Douglasses, with the Justice Clerk; M'Gill and their alliance, if my Lady Lennox do not relinquish her title to the Earldom of Angus, which I suppose, in respect of the greater advancement, she hath already promised. The Lords Maxwell and Erskine, allied to Argyle. Livingstone is friend to the Duke, and Fleming likewise. Borthwick will hang with the Douglasses. The Earl of Montrose and the Leslies being Protestants.

"Of these [some] may be won, partly in hope that Darnley will embrace religion, which I doubt will never be, partly by preferment of spiritual lands, partly by money, and partly but in fear by the authority and in respect of other insolent pretences.

"Friends hoped upon it —

"The Humes and the Kers, albeit they will choose the best side.

"The Earl of Bothwell, of no force now.

"The Earl Athol; the Earl Errol; the Lords Ruthven and Seton; the gentlemen of Lennox, and some of the Barony of Renfrew. The Laird of Tullybardine, a young head.

"The Queen being his chief countenance, thinketh from the Duke's overthrow, if she can bring it to pass, to advance Lennox as her heir apparent, failing of her issue. If Darnley can hit the mark, then careth my lady (Lady Lennox) neither for the Earldom of Lennox, Angus, nor lands in England, having enough that way; and if the Queen can bring it about, division shall follow. The overthrow of religion is pretended; the French to be reconciled; their aid again to be craved; and if they can, they intend to pretend title here in England, where they make account upon friends. Whenas they have Lennox, Darnley, and the mother within their borde whatsoever flourishing words be used for the shift, either here or in Scotland, by Lady Lennox, her son, or husband, their hearts portend enmity to our Sovereign and division to her realm. They are only bent to please and revenge the Queen of Scots' quarrel, and to follow her ways, who remembereth as I am informed, her mother, her uncle Guise, and her own pretences. This realm hath a faction to serve their turn. Betwixt Chatelherault and Lennox, take heed that ye suffer not that Chatelherault be overthrowen, and in the end advance him who shall be enemy to this realm.

for three months, in the belief that it might be safely conceded.

Darnley therefore went his way. Elizabeth herself meanwhile, half desponding, half hopeful of the result, and perhaps to hold a salutary fear over the Queen of Scots, listened to the proposals of Catherine de Medici for her own marriage with the boy King of France.

On the 24th of January the Queen-mother addressed a letter to Paul de Foix, setting forth that considering the rare excellence of the Queen of England, the position of England and France, separated as they were only by a three hours' passage, and the deep interests of both countries in their mutual prosperity, she would feel herself the happiest mother in the world if either of her sons could convert so charming a sister into a daughter equally dear.<sup>1</sup>

Before Mary Stuart had given signs of an alteration of feeling, and immediately that she was made aware of the ill success of the conference at Berwick, Elizabeth had been again haunted by the nightmare of marriage. Again Cecil had communicated with Maximilian, and in writing to Sir Thomas Smith on the 15th of December, he had said :

"This also I see in the Queen's Majesty, a sufficient contentation to be moved to marry abroad ; and if it may so please Almighty God to lead by the hand some meet person to come and lay hands on her to her con-

It may fall out the Queen's Majesty's purpose may be followed by them of Scotland, in which case it should be well ; but I in my simple opinion am in despair thereof, for they look for her where the Lord preserve her, and therefore betimes seek ways to stop the tide, and fill their hands full at home, which may well be done." — *Conway MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>1</sup> "Me sentirois la plus heureuse mère du monde si un de mes enfans d'une bien aymée sœur m'en avoit faict une très chère fille." — Catherine de Medici to Paul de Foix : *Vie de Marie Stuart*, Mignet; Appendix.



tentation, I could then wish myself more health to endure my years somewhat longer, to enjoy such a world here as I trust will follow ; otherwise I assure you, as now things hang in desperation, I have no comfort to live.”<sup>1</sup>

Cecil's interest was in the Archduke, who was a grown man. Elizabeth, if she was obliged to marry, preferred perhaps a husband with whom her connexion for a time would be a form.

When Paul de Foix read Catherine's letter to her she coloured, expressed herself warmly grateful for an offer of which she felt herself unworthy, and wished that she had been ten years younger. She feared, she said, that if at her age she married any one so young as the King of France, it would be with her as it had been with her sister and King Philip. In a few years she would find herself a discontented old woman, deserted by a husband who was weary of her.

The ambassador politely objected. She might have children to give stability to the throne ; virtue never grew old, and her greatness would forever make her loved.

She said she would sooner die than be a neglected wife, and yet while conscious of its absurdity she allowed the thought to rest before her. She admitted that her subjects desired her to marry. They would perhaps prefer an Englishman for her ; but she had no subject in England of adequate rank except the Earl of Arundel, and Arundel she could not endure. She could have loved the noble Earl of Leicester, but her subjects objected and she was bound to consult their wishes.

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Sir T. Smith, December 15: Wright, Vol. I.

So with a promise to consider the proposal she graciously dismissed De Foix and proceeded to consult Cecil. The careful Cecil with methodical gravity paraded the obvious objections; the inequality of age, the danger, should the marriage prove fruitful, of the absorption of England into France, the risk of being involved in continental wars, and the innovations which might be attempted upon English liberty and English law.

Elizabeth admitted the force of these considerations, but she would not regard them as decisive. De Foix suggested that the crown of England might be entailed on the second son or the second child; and Catherine de Medici herself, excited by Elizabeth's uncertainty, became more pressing than ever, and made light of difficulties.

She even tempted Cecil with splendid offers if he would recommend the French alliance and do her a pleasure; but she had mistaken the temperament which she was addressing. Cecil answered like himself "that he thought neither of how to gratify the Queen of France nor of any gift or recompense which might accrue to himself; his sole care was for the service of God, the weal of his mistress, and the interests of the realm; if the marriage would further these it should have his hearty support; if otherwise, no second consideration could move him."<sup>1</sup>

The Queen-mother was too eager to be daunted. The Queen of Spain was coming in the course of the spring to Bayonne on a visit to her mother. Some marriage in Philip's interest would then probably be proposed for her son; and while De Foix was working on Elizabeth, Catherine herself continued to press upon

<sup>1</sup> Mignet's *Mary Stuart*; Appendix.

the English ambassador and to urge the necessity of an immediate resolution.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth really thought for the time that unless she could succeed with Mary Stuart her choice lay only between the Archduke and the King of France. She told De Silva in March that she must marry or she could not face another Parliament, while she durst not marry Leicester for fear of an insurrection.<sup>2</sup> Catherine

March.

de Medici knew the necessity which was bearing upon her, and laboured hard with Sir Thomas Smith to remove the objections raised by Cecil.

Age was nothing, she said. If the Queen of England was contented with the age of her son he would find no fault with hers. Elizabeth professed to fear that a marriage with the King of France might oblige her to be often absent from England. Catherine could see no difficulty in governing England by a viceroy; and it was to no purpose that Smith urged that the English people were less easy to govern than the French, and that their princes had trouble enough to manage them though they remained always at home. He told Catherine that he thought she was too precipitate; the young people might meet and make acquaintance. "You are a young man, sir," he said to Charles himself; "when you are next in Normandy

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Smith reports a singular Order of Council for the behaviour of the French Court, in preparation for the Queen of Spain's visit:—

"Orders are taken in the Court that no gentleman shall entertain with talk any of the Queen's maids, except it be in the Queen's presence, or except he be married. And if any demoiselle do sit upon a form or stool, he may sit by her, but not lie along as the fashion was afore in this Court, with other such restraints, which whether they be made for this time of Lent, or to somewhat imitate the austerity of the Spanish Court, that they should not be offended or think evil of the liberty used in this Court, I cannot tell."—Sir T. Smith to Cecil, April 10: *French MSS. Rolls House*

<sup>2</sup> De Silva to Philip, March 17: *MS. Simancas*.

you should disguise yourself, go lustily over unknown, and see with your own eyes."

The Queen-mother laughed, but said it could not be. She must have an answer at once; and the match was so advantageous for both parties that she could not believe Elizabeth would refuse. France and England united could rule the world, for French and English soldiers united could conquer the world. "France had the honour for horsemen; English footmen were taken for invincible."

The conversation turned on the chances of children, where Catherine was equally confident; and the dialogue which followed was reported by Sir T. Smith in a letter to Elizabeth herself: —

"The Queen told me that she was married when King Henry had but fifteen years and she fourteen; and that Mr. Secretary Cecil had a child at fourteen years of age, as her ambassador had written to her; and said she, 'you see my son, he is not small nor little of growth.'

April.  
Charles the  
Ninth and  
Elizabeth.

"With that the King stood upright.

"'Why,' said she, 'you would show yourself bigger than you be,' and laughed.

"'But what think you will be the end, M. l'Ambassador,' saith she; 'I pray you tell me your opinion frankly.'

"'By my troth, Madame,' quoth I, 'to say what I think, I think rather it will take effect than no; and yet in my letters I see nothing but deliberation and irresolution and request of delay to consult; but methinks it groweth fast together and cometh on hotlier than I did imagine it would have done; and that maketh me judge rather that at the last it will take

effect than otherwise. But methinks on your part and the King's you make too much haste. If the King had three or four more years and had seen the Queen's Majesty and was taken in love with her, then I would not marvel at this haste.'

" 'Why,' said the King, 'I do love her indeed.'

" 'Sir,' quoth I, 'your age doth not yet bear that you should perfectly know what love meaneth; but you shall shortly understand it, for there is no young man, prince nor other, but he doth pass by it. It is the foolishhest thing, the most impatient, most hasty, most without respect that can be.'

" With that the King blushed.

" The Queen said this is no foolish love.

" 'No, Madame,' quoth I, 'this is with respect and upon good grounds, and therefore may be done with deliberation.'"<sup>1</sup>

" 'So your Majesty is to marry the King of France after all,' said De Silva to Elizabeth, a little after this.

" She half hid her face and laughed. 'It is Lent,' she said; 'and you are a good friend, so I will confess my sins to you. My brother the Catholic King wished

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Smith to Elizabeth, April 15: *French MSS. Rolls House*.

Elizabeth had desired the ambassador to describe the young king to her. Smith said he was a pale, thin, sickly, ungainly boy, with large knee and ankle joints. His health had been injured by over-doses of medicine. He seemed amiable, cheerful, and more intelligent than might have been expected, "seeing he had not been brought up to learning, and spoke no language but his own."

In a letter to Cecil, the ambassador said —

"The Queen-mother hath a very good opinion of you. She liketh marvellous well that you had a son in your fourteenth or fifteenth year, for she hopeth therefore that her son the King shall have a son as well as you in his sixteenth year, and thinketh you may serve as an example to the Queen's Majesty not to contemn the young years of the King's." — Smith to Cecil: *MS. Ibid.*

to marry me, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark wished to marry me, the King of France wishes to marry me.'

" 'And the Archduke also,' said De Silva.

" 'Your Prince,' she went on without noticing the interruption, 'is the only one who has not been at my feet; I have had all the rest.'

" 'When the king my master failed,' replied De Silva, 'he supposed your Majesty would never marry at all.'

" 'There was no need of so hasty a conclusion,' she said; 'although it is true that at that time I was very unwilling to marry; and I assure you that if at this moment I could name any fitting person to succeed to my crown, I would not marry now; I have always shrunk from it; but my subjects insist, and I suppose I shall be forced to comply, unless I can contrive some alternative, which will be very difficult. The world, when a woman remains single, assumes that there must be something wrong about her, and that she has some discreditable reason for it. They said of me that I would not marry because I was in love with the Earl of Leicester, and that I could not marry him because he had a wife already; yet now he has no wife, and for all that I do not marry him, although at one time the King my brother advised me to do it. But what are we to do? tongues will talk, and for ourselves we can but do our duties and keep our account straight with God. Truth comes out at last, and God knows my heart, that I am not what people say I am.' "<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile in Scotland the drama was fast pro-

<sup>1</sup> Mignet, Appendix 6.

gressing. Darnley reached Edinburgh on the 12th of February; and a week later he was introduced to Mary at Wemyss Castle in Fife. As yet he had but few friends: the most powerful of the Catholic nobles looked askance at him; the Cardinal of Lorraine, the Cardinal of Guise, and the widowed Duchess, misunderstanding the feeling of his friends in England, imagined that in accepting a youth who had been brought up at Elizabeth's court, the Queen of Scots was throwing up the game.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's minister in Paris — a Beton, and therefore an hereditary enemy of Lennox — sent an estafette to Madrid in the hope that Philip would dissuade her from a step which he regarded as fatal; and though Melville, who was in the confidence of the English Catholics, assured her "that no marriage was more in her interest, seeing it would render her title to the succession of the crown unquestionable," although Ritzio, "the known minion of the Pope," threw himself into Darnley's intimacy so warmly "that they would lie sometimes in one bed together,"<sup>2</sup> Mary Stuart either delayed her resolution, or delayed the publication of it till Philip's answer should arrive. She had not yet relinquished hope of extracting concessions from Elizabeth by professing a desire to be guided by her; she was afraid of driving Elizabeth by over-precipitancy to accept the advances of France.

In the interval, therefore, she continued to assure

<sup>1</sup> When Mary's final resolution to marry Darnley was made known in Paris, Sir Thomas Smith wrote to Leicester, "The Cardinal of Guise, Madame de Guise, and the Scottish ambassador, are in a marvellous agony for the news of the marriage of the Scottish Queen with the Lord Darnley. They have received letters out of Scotland from some friends there, which when they had read, they fell weeping all that night." — Smith to Leicester, April, 1565: *French MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood.

Randolph that she would be guided by "her sister's" wishes. "How to be sure that it is her real mind, and not words only," Randolph wrote on the 1st of March, "is harder than I will take upon March me; but so far as words go, to me and others she seems fully determined. I never at any time had better hopes of her than now."<sup>1</sup>

Yet the smooth words took no shape in action. She pressed Randolph every day to know Elizabeth's resolution, but the conditions on both sides remained as they were left at Berwick. Elizabeth said to Mary Stuart, "Marry as I wish and then you shall see what I will do for you." Mary said, "Recognize me first as your successor, and I will then be all that you desire." Each distrusted the other; but Elizabeth had the most producible reason for declining to be credulous. However affectionate the Queen of Scots' language might be, the Treaty of Edinburgh remained unratified.

The more Mary pressed for recognition, therefore, the more Elizabeth determined to withhold what if once conceded could not afterwards be recalled, till by some decisive action her suspicions should have been removed. With the suspense, other dangerous symptoms began to show themselves. Soon after Darnley's appearance the Queen of Scots made attempts to reintroduce the mass. Murray told Randolph that "if she had her way in her 'Papistry' things would be worse then ever they were." Argyle said that unless she married as the Queen of England desired, "he and his would have to provide for their own." The chapel at Holyrood was thrown open to all comers; and while the Queen insisted that her subjects should "be free to live as they listed," the Protestants "offered their lives

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 1: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*



to be sacrificed before they would suffer such an abomination." Becoming aggressive in turn, they threatened to force the Queen into conformity, and they by their violence "kindled in her a desire to revenge." Mary Stuart was desiring merely to reconcile the Catholics of the anti-Lennox faction to her marriage with Darnley. There was fighting about the chapel door; the priest was attacked at the altar; and in the daily quarrels at the council-board, the Lords of the Congregation told Mary openly that "if she thought of marrying a Papist, it would not be borne with."<sup>1</sup> Suddenly, unlooked for and uninvited, the evil spirit of the storm, the Earl of Bothwell, reappeared at Mary's Court. She disclaimed all share in his return; he was still attainted; yet there he stood — none daring to lift a hand against him — proud, insolent, and dangerous.

At this crisis Randolph brought Mary a message which she was desired to accept as final; that until Elizabeth had herself married, or had made up her mind not to marry, the succession must remain unsettled. The Queen of Scots "wept her fill;" but tears in those eyes were no sign of happy promise. Randolph so little liked the atmosphere that he petitioned for his own recall. Lennox had gathered about him a knot of wild and desperate youths — Cassilis, Eglinton, Montgomery, and Bothwell — the worst and fiercest of all. Darnley had found a second friend and adviser besides Ritzio in Lord Robert Stuart, the Queen's half-brother, "a man full of all evil." The Queen's own marriage with him was now generally spoken of; and Chatelherault, Argyle, and Murray, gave the English ambassador

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 15, March 17, and March 20: *M.S. Rolls House*.

Elizabeth postpones the settlement of the succession.

notice that mischief was in the wind, "and joined themselves in a new bond to defend each other's quarrels."<sup>1</sup>

"To help all these unhappy ones," Randolph wrote to Cecil, "I doubt not but you will take the best way; and this I can assure you that contrary to my sovereign's will, let them attempt, let them seek, let them send to all the cardinals and devils in hell, it shall exceed their power to bring anything to pass, so that be not refused the Queen of Scots which in reason ought to content her."<sup>2</sup>

The elements of uncertainty and danger were already too many, when it pleased Elizabeth to introduce another, which completed the chaos and shook the three kingdoms. Despising doctrinal Protestantism too keenly to do justice to its professors, Elizabeth had been long growing impatient of excesses like that which had shocked her at Cambridge, and had many times expressed her determination to bring the Church to order. Her own creed was a perplexity to herself and to the world. With no tinge of the meaner forms of superstition, she clung to practices which exasperated the Reformers, while the Catholics laughed at their inconsistency; her crucifixes and candles, if adopted partly from a politic motive of conciliation, were in part also an expression of that half belief with which she regarded the symbols of the faith; and while ruling the clergy with a rod of iron, and refusing as sternly as her father to tolerate their pretensions to independence, she desired to force upon them a special and semi-mysterious character; to dress them up as counterfeits of the Catholic hierarchy; and half in reverence, half in con-

*Elizabeth determines to restore order in the Church.*

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 20: *Cotton MSS. Calig., B. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

tempt, compel them to assume the name and character of a priesthood which both she and they in their heart of hearts knew to be an illusion and a dream.

Elizabeth's view of this subject cannot be called a fault. It was the result of her peculiar temperament ; and in principle was but an anticipation of the eventual attitude into which the minds of the laity would subside. But the theory in itself is suited only to settled times, when it is safe from the shock of external trials : from the first it has been endured with impatience by those nobler minds to whom sincerity is a necessity of existence ; and in the first establishment of the English Church, and especially when Elizabeth attempted to insist on conditions which overstrained the position, she tried the patience of the most enduring clergy in the world.

Her first and greatest objection was to their marriage. The holy state of matrimony was one which she could not contemplate without bitterness ; and although she could not at the time of her accession prevent the clergy from taking wives, and dared not reënact the prohibitory laws of her sister, she refused to revive the permissive statutes of Edward. She preferred to leave the archbishops and bishops with their children legally illegitimate, and themselves under the imputation of concubinage. Nor did time tend to remove her objections. Cecil alone in 1561 prevented her from making an attempt to enforce celibacy.<sup>1</sup> To the Archbishop of Canterbury himself "she expressed a repentance that he and the other married bishops were in office, wishing it had been

<sup>1</sup> "Her Majesty continues very ill-affected towards the state of matrimony in the clergy ; and if I were not therein very stiff, her Majesty would utterly and openly condemn and forbid it."—Cecil to Archbishop Parker, August 12, 1561: Strype's *Life of Parker*.

otherwise ;" she thought them worse as they were "than in the glorious shame of a counterfeited chastity ;" "I was in horror," the Archbishop wrote after a conversation with her on the subject, "to hear such words come from her mild nature as she spake concerning God's holy ordinance of matrimony." "Princes hitherto had thought it better to cherish their ecclesiastical state as conservators of religion ; the English bishops alone were openly brought in hatred, shunned and traduced before the malicious and ignorant people as beasts without knowledge, as men of effrenate intemperancy, without discretion or any godly disposition worthy to serve in their state."<sup>1</sup>

In the same spirit the Queen attempted to force her crucifixes into the parish churches ; and she provoked by it immediate rebellion. The bishops replied with one voice "that they would give their lives for her ; but they would not set a trap for the ignorant, and make themselves guilty of the blood of their brethren ;" "if by the Queen's authority they established images, they would blemish the fame of their notable fathers who had given their lives for the testimony of God's truth."

Quarrel  
between  
the Queen  
and the  
Bishops.

Thus the antagonism went on, irritating Elizabeth on her side into dangerous traffickings with the Bishop of Aquila and his successor ; while Parker declared openly that he must obey God rather than man ; and that however the Queen might despise him and his brethren, "there were enough of that contemptible flock that would not shrink to offer their blood for the defence of Christ's verity."<sup>2</sup>

The right however, as has been already pointed out, was not wholly on the Protestant side. The recol-

<sup>1</sup> Parker to Cecil: Strype's *Life of Parker*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*.

lections of Protestant ascendancy in the days of Edward were not yet effaced; and the inability of the Reformers to keep in check the coarser forms of irreverence and irreligion was as visible as before. They were themselves aggressive and tyrannical; and when prebends' wives melted the cathedral organ-pipes into dish-covers and cut the frames into bedsteads, there was something to be said even in favour of clerical celibacy. The bad relations between the Crown and the spiritual estate prevented the clergy from settling down into healthy activity. The Queen insulted her bishops on one side; the Puritans denounced them on the other as imps of Antichrist; and thus without effective authority—with its rulers brought deliberately into contempt—the Church of England sunk deeper day by day into anarchy.

Something, no doubt, it had become necessary to do; but Elizabeth took a line which, however it might be defended in theory, was approved of only by the Catholics—and by them in the hope that it would prove the ruin of the institution which they hated.

At the close of 1564, after the return of the Court from Cambridge, an intimation went abroad that the Queen intended to enforce uniformity in the administration of the services, and to insist especially on the use of the surplice and cap—the badges which distinguished the priest from the Genevan minister. The Puritan clergy would sooner have walked to the stake in the yellow robes of Sanbenitos. But it was in vain that the Dean of Durham insisted that it was cruel to use force against Protestants while “so many Papists, who had never sworn obedience to the Queen nor yet did any part of their duty to their flocks, enjoyed their liberty and livings.” It was in vain that Pilkington

and others of the bishops exclaimed against d'sturb'ing the peace of the Church at such a time "about things indifferent."<sup>1</sup> On the 24th of January the Queen addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that whereas the ecclesiastical government ought to be the example in its perfection to all others — by the carelessness of him the Archbishop and of the other bishops, differences of opinion, differences of practice, differences in the rites used in the churches, had risen up throughout the realm, to the great offence of godly, wise, and obedient persons. She had hoped that the bishops would in time have remembered their duties; but finding her expectation disappointed, she had now resolved to use her own authority and suppress and reform all novelties, diversities, and varieties. The Act of Uniformity should be obeyed in all its parts, and the bishops must see to it at their peril." In the first draft of the letter a clause was added in Cecil's hand, recommending them to act with moderation; but the words were struck through and a menace substituted in their place, that "if the bishops were now remiss, the Queen would provide other remedy by such sharp proceedings as should not be easy to be borne by such as were disordered; and therewith also she would impute to them the cause thereof."<sup>2</sup>

*Elizabeth insists on the observance of the Act of Uniformity.*

Much might have been said on the manner of these injunctions. To the matter there was no objection, provided discretion had been observed in limiting the points which were to be insisted on within the bounds which were indispensably necessary, and provided the

<sup>1</sup> Pilkington to Leicester, October 25, 1564: Strype's *Parker*, Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen to Archbishop Parker, January 24, 1565: Strype's *Life of Parker*.

bishops' powers were equal to the duties imposed upon them. Henry the Eighth had again and again issued similar orders; and on the whole, because he was known to be evenhanded, and because the civil authority supported the ecclesiastical, he had held in check the more dangerous excesses both of Catholic and Protestant. But the reformed opinions had now developed far beyond the point at which Henry left them. They had gained a hold on the intellect, as well as on the passions, of the best and noblest of Elizabeth's subjects; and on the other hand, as the Dean of Durham complained, vast numbers of the Catholic clergy were left undisturbed in their benefices who scarcely cared to conceal their creed. The bishops were rebuked if they attempted to exact the oath of allegiance from Papist recusants; while the Queen's displeasure was reserved for those who were true from the bottom of their hearts to the throne which the Catholics were undermining. The ablest and worthiest of the English clergy were those on whom the injunctions would press most heavily. Elizabeth, it seemed, had not yet forgiven the good service which they had done her when Amy Robsart died, and when but for them she would have married Lord Robert.

But there was no escape. The surplice should be worn, though it scorched like the robe of Nessus. The Archbishop, with the help of the Bishops of London, Ely, Lincoln, and Winchester, drew up a body of articles for "uniformity of apparel and ritual," and submitted them to Cecil for approval. Elizabeth meanwhile had supplemented her first orders, by a command that "matters in controversy in religion" should not be discussed in sermons; the clergy while wearing Catholic garments were not to criticize Catholic doc-

trines. The Archbishop told Cecil that while "the adversaries" were so busy on the Continent writing against the English Liturgy, this last direction was thought "too unreasonable;" and implored him "not to strain the cord too tight;" while he requested an order in writing from the Queen, addressed to himself and the Bishop of London, as their authority for enforcing her first commands.<sup>1</sup>

Neither a letter from herself, however, nor assistance in any form from the Government, would Elizabeth allow to be given. The bishops should deliver their tale of bricks, but they should have no straw to burn them. They were the appointed authorities, and by them she was determined at once that the work should be done and that the odium of it should be borne.

She did something indeed; but not what Parker desired. As if purposely to affront the Protestants the Court had revived the ceremonies of the Carnival. On Shrove Tuesday Leicester gave a tournament and afterwards a masque, where Juno and Diana held an argument on the respective merits of marriage and celibacy. Jupiter as the umpire gave sentence at last for matrimony; and the Queen, who had the Spanish ambassador as usual at her side, whispered to him, "that is meant for me." A supper followed, but not till past midnight. As Lent had begun the ambassador declined to eat, and Elizabeth laughed at him. The next day being Ash Wednesday, De Silva accompanied her to St. Paul's, where Nowell the Dean was to preach. A vast crowd had assembled — Elizabeth at Paul's Cross. more, the Queen thought, to see her than to hear the sermon. The Dean began, and had not proceeded far when he came on the subject of images — "which he handled roughly."

<sup>1</sup> Parker to Cecil, March 3, 1565: *Lansdowne MSS.* 8.



"Leave that alone," Elizabeth called from her seat. The preacher did not hear, and went on with his invectives. "To your text! Mr. Dean," she shouted, raising her voice; "To your text; leave that; we have heard enough of that! To your subject."

The unfortunate Doctor Nowell coloured, stammered out a few incoherent words, and was unable to go on. Elizabeth went off in a rage with her ambassador. The congregation — the Protestant part of it — were in tears.<sup>1</sup>

Archbishop Parker seeing the Dean "utterly dismayed," took him "for pity home to Lambeth to dinner;"<sup>2</sup> and wrote to Cecil a respectful but firm remonstrance. Without the letter for which he had applied he was powerless to move. The bishops without the support of the Queen or Council would only be laughed at. Let Leicester, Bacon, Cecil himself, and the Queen, send for the Protestant ministers if they pleased, and say to them what they pleased. They had begun the trouble, and it was for them to pacify it. "I can do no good," he said. "If the ball shall be tossed unto us, and we have no authority by the Queen's hand, we will sit still; I will no more strive against the stream — fume or chide who will. The Lord be with you!"<sup>3</sup>

Still labouring to do his best, the Archbishop called a meeting of the bishops, and invited them either to recommend obedience among the clergy or to abstain from encouraging them in resistance. But the bishops were now as angry as the Queen. They refused in a body to "discourage good Protestants;" and Parker

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, March 12: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Parker to Cecil, March 8: *Lansdowne MSS.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

told Elizabeth plainly that unless she supported him in carrying them out the injunctions must be modified. He had to deal with men "who would offer themselves to lose all, yea, their bodies to prison, rather than condescend;" while the lawyers told him that he could not deprive incumbents of their livings "with no more warrant but the Queen's mouth."

While Parker addressed the Queen, the other bishops waited on Cecil with the same protest. The Reforming clergy, they said, refused everywhere "to wear the apparel of Satan;" "Christ had no fellowship with Belial;" and "for themselves they would not be made Papists in disguise."

Cecil, who knew that all appeals to Elizabeth in her present humour would only exasperate her, replied that "they talked more rhetoric than reason; the Queen must be obeyed or worse would follow."<sup>1</sup>

Never were human beings in a more cruel position. Elizabeth sat still in malicious enjoyment of the torture which she was inflicting, while Parker and Grindal, after a fresh consultation with the lawyers, undertook at last to summon the London clergy and attempt to extort a promise from them to obey the Act of Uniformity; if the clergy refused the Archbishop supposed that the Court was prepared for the consequences, and that he must proceed to sequestration and deprivation; but while he consented to submit to the Queen's commands he warned Cecil of the inevitable consequences; many churches would be left destitute of service; many ministers would forsake their livings and live at printing, teaching children, or otherwise as they could: "what tumults would follow, what speeches and talks were like to rise in the realm and in the city, he left it

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<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, March 12.

to Cecil's wisdom to consider ;" and driven as he was against his will to these unwise extremities, he again entreated that some member of the Council might be joined in commission with him "to authorize the Queen's commandments."<sup>1</sup>

On this last point Elizabeth would yield nothing. The clergy were under the charge of the bishops ; and the bishops should manage them with law or without. One or two of the most violent of the London preachers were called before the Council and "foul chidden : " but lay interference with them was limited to remonstrance. The responsibility of punishing them was flung persistently on the Archbishop, who at length, after once more ineffectually imploring Ecclesiastical Commission at Lambeth. Cecil "to pacify the Queen," opened a commission at Lambeth with the Bishop of London on the 26th of March.

A few hours' experience sufficed to justify the worst alarm. More than a hundred of the London clergy appeared. Sixty-one promised conformity ; a few hesitated ; thirty-seven distinctly refused and were suspended for three months "from all manner of ministry." They were the best preachers in the city ; "they showed reasonable quietness and modesty other than was looked for," but submit they would not.<sup>2</sup> As an immediate consequence, foreseen by every one but the Queen, the most frequented of the Riots in the London churches, London churches either became the scenes of scandal and riot or were left without service. When the Archbishop sent his chaplains to officiate the congregation forcibly expelled them. The doors of one church were locked, and six hundred citizens "who

<sup>1</sup> Parker and Grindal to Cecil, March 20: *Lansdowne MSS.* 8.

<sup>2</sup> Parker to Cecil, March 26: *MS.* Ibid.

came to communion " were left at the doors unable to find entrance ; at another, an Anglican priest of high church tendencies, who was sent to take the place of the deposed minister, produced a wafer at the sacrament ; the parishioners when he was reading the prayer of consecration removed it from the table, "because it was not common bread." At a third church the churchwardens refused to provide surplices. The Bishop of London was besieged in his house at St. Paul's by mobs of raging women, whom he vainly entreated to go away and send their husbands instead. Unable to escape from the hands of these Amazons he was about " to pray aid of some magistrate " to deliver him ; and was rescued only by one of the suspended clergy who persuaded them to go away quietly — "yet so as with tears they moved at some hands compassion."<sup>1</sup> Everywhere "the precise Protestants" "offered their goods and bodies to prison rather than they would relent."

Simultaneously, and obviously on purpose, Elizabeth forced upon the people the most alarming construction of the persecution. On Good Friday, her almoner Guest, the high church Bishop of Rochester, preached a sermon in the Chapel Royal on the famous *Hoc est corpus meum*. He assured his congregation again and again "that the bread at the sacrament was the very body, the very same body which had been crucified," "and that the Christian must so take it and so believe of it," and an enthusiastic Catholic in the audience was so delighted to hear the old doctrine once more in the Sovereign's presence, that he shouted out — "That is true, and he that denies it let him be burnt."

<sup>1</sup> Parker to Cecil, March 26, March 28, April 3, April 12: *Lansdowne MSS.* Grindal to Cecil, May 4: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XXXIX., *Rolls House*.

On Easter Tuesday Elizabeth, in stiff black velvet and with all solemnity and devotion, publicly washed the feet of a poor woman; and the washing business over, with slow deliberation she had a large crucifix brought to her which she piously kissed.<sup>1</sup> In part perhaps she was but a politic hypocrite, and desired to deceive De Silva and Philip; but the world took her at her word and believed that she was openly making profession of Catholicism while she was compelling the Protestants to be their own destroyers.

Once more Parker poured out to Cecil his despair and distraction.<sup>2</sup>

*Lambeth, April 28.*

"SIR, — the Queen's Majesty willed my Lord of York to declare her pleasure determinately to have the orders go forward. I trust her Highness hath devised how it may be performed. I utterly despair therein as of myself, and therefore must sit still as I have now done, always waiting either for toleration or else further aid. Mr. Secretary, can it be thought that I alone, having sun and moon against me, can compass this difficulty? If you of her Majesty's Council provide no otherwise for this matter than as it appeareth openly, what the sequel will be *horresco vel reminiscendo cogitare*. In King Edward's days the whole body of the Council travailed in Hooper's attempt; my predecessor Cranmer of blessed memory<sup>3</sup> labouring in vain with Bishop

<sup>1</sup> "Acabando de lavar el pie á la pobre, hacia de mucho espacio una cruz muy larga y bien hecha para besar en ella de que pesaba á muchos de los que allí estaban." — De Silva to Philip, April 21: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Parker to Cecil: *Lansdowne MSS.* 9.

<sup>3</sup> Parker's words are "my predecessor D. Cranmer labouring in vain," &c. D. is *Deus*, and the expression in the text is its nearest English equivalent.

Ferrars, the Council took it in hand ; and shall I hope to do that which the Queen's Majesty will have done ? What I hear and see, what complaints be brought to me, I shall not report, [or] how I am used of many men's hands. I commit all to God. If I die in this cause — malice so far prevailing — I shall commit my soul to God in a good conscience. If the Queen's Majesty be no more considered, I shall not marvel what be done or said to me. If you hear and see so manifestly as may be seen, and will not consult in time to prevent so many miseries, I have and do by these presents discharge my duty and conscience to you in such place as ye be. I can promise to do nothing but hold me in silence within my own conscience, and make my complaints to God ut exsurgat Deus et judicet causam istam, ille, ille, qui comprehendit sapientes in astutiâ eorum.<sup>1</sup> God be with your honour.

“ Your honour's in Christ,

“ MATT. CANTUAR.”

The alarm produced by Elizabeth's attitude was not confined to the English Protestants. Adam <sup>Protest of</sup> Loftus, titular Archbishop of Armagh, be- <sup>Adam</sup> <sup>Loftus.</sup> wailed to Cecil the malice of the crafty “ devil and subtle Satan ” who was “ turmoiling and turning things topsy-turvy, bringing in a mingled religion, neither wholly with nor wholly against God's word.” Such a religion was “ the more dangerous,” the Irish primate thought, “ as it was accounted good and comely ; ” but for himself he would rather see God followed wholly or Baal followed wholly ; “ it was dangerous to urge

<sup>1</sup> “ That God may arise, and may judge in this cause, — He — He — who taketh the wise in their own craftiness.”



a necessity in things which God's word did set at liberty." <sup>1</sup>

Far worse was the effect in Scotland. The rigid Calvinists, who had long watched Elizabeth with jealous eyes, clamoured that she was showing herself at last in her true colours. "Posts and packets flying daily in the air" brought such news as lost her and lost England "the hearts of all the godly." No imagination was too extravagant to receive credit. The two Queens were supposed to be in a secret league for the overthrow of the truth, and Darnley's return was interpreted as part of an insidious policy — at once "to match the Queen of Scots meanly and poorly," and to confirm her in her evil ways "by marrying her to a Papist." The "godly" exclaimed in anguish "that no hope was left of any sure establishment of Christ's religion, but all was turned to confusion." "The evil effect" on men's minds was described "as beyond measure infinite;" and Mary Stuart's desire to obtain liberty of conscience for the Catholics, and the increasing favour which she showed to Darnley, were alike set down to Elizabeth.

The Leicester scandals were revived, with new anecdotes to confirm them.<sup>2</sup> The Protestants, goaded into fear and fury, swore that the priests at Holyrood should be hanged, and "idolatry" be no more suffered. Mary

<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop of Armagh to Cecil, 1565: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> "It is in every man's mouth that lately the Duke of Norfolk's Grace and my Lord of Leicester were playing at tennis, the Queen beholding them, and my Lord Robert being very hot and sweating, took the Queen's napkin out of her hand and wiped his face, which the Duke seeing said he was too saucy, and swore he would lay his racket upon his face. Hereupon arose a tumult, and the Queen offended sore with the Duke. This tale is told by the Earl of Athol. Whatsoever is most secret among you is sooner at this Queen's ears than some would think it. I would your doings were better, or many of your tattling tongues shorter." — Randolph to Throgmorton, March 31: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

Stuart being on a visit at Lundy in Fife, the Laird — “a grave antient man with a white head and a white beard” — led his seven sons before her, all tall and stalwart men. They knelt together at her feet. “The house,” the Laird said, “was hers and all that was in it, and he and his boys would serve her truly till death ;” “but he prayed that while she remained no mass should be said there.” She asked why. He said it was “worse than the mickle de’il.”<sup>1</sup>

Remonstrance did not rest in words. A priest in Edinburgh, taking courage from the reports which were in the air, said mass at Easter at a private house. He was denounced, caught, hurried before the town magistrates, and having confessed, was fastened hand and foot to the market cross. There, from two o’clock in the afternoon till six, he stood exposed, while “ten thousand eggs” were broken upon his face and body ; and the hungry mob howled round his feet and threatened to dash his brains out with their clubs as soon as he was taken down. The Provost, who had gone contentedly home to supper, was obliged to return with the city guard to bring him off in safety ; and the miserable wretch, pasted with slime and filth, was carried senseless into the Tolbooth and there made fast in irons with two of his congregation at his side.<sup>2</sup>

The Queen of Scots, who was at Stirling when she heard of this cowardly outrage, sent for the Provost and ordered him to release his prisoner ; “not however,” wrote an unknown correspondent in relating the story to Randolph,<sup>3</sup> “without great offence of the

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 27: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Same to same, April, 1565: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> One of a number of letters to Randolph, in the Rolls House, written in the same hand, and signed “You know who.” To this person, whoever he was, Randolph was indebted for much of his secret information. The

whole people ;” “whereby,” he said, “I trust whenever the like occurs again, and there be knowledge gotten, execution will be made in another manner of sort without seeking of further justice at the magistrates’ hands ; I assure you there is greater rage now amongst the faithful nor ever I saw since her Grace came to Scotland.”

Meantime Mary Stuart, weary of the mask which she had so long worn, and unable to endure any longer these wild insults to her creed and herself, determined to run the chance of dividing Scotland, to throw herself on the loyalty of the Catholic party in her own country, in England, and abroad, to marry Darnley and dare the worst which Elizabeth could do. Whether she had received any encouraging answer from Philip before she made up her mind does not appear. It is most likely, however, that she had learnt from the Government in the Netherlands what the answer would be when it arrived ; and the opinions of the Spanish ministers when made known at last were decisively favourable. After a consultation at the Escorial, the Duke of Alva and the Count de Feria recommended Philip by all means to support the Queen of Scots in taking a Catholic husband who by blood was so near the English crown ; and Philip sent her word, and through De Silva sent word to the English Catholics, that she and they might rely on him to bear them through.<sup>1</sup>

Tired of waiting, and anticipating with justifiable confidence that Philip would approve, the Queen of Scots in the middle of April came to a fixed resolution.

hand partly resembles that of Kirkaldy of Grange ; partly, though not to the same degree, that of Knox.

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Simancas.*

As Darnley was an English subject it was necessary to go through the form of consulting the English sovereign; and Maitland, who to the last moment had believed that he had been successful in dissuading his mistress from so rash a step, was the person chosen to inform Elizabeth that the Queen of Scots had made her choice, and to request her consent.

With but faint hopes of success — for he knew too much to share the illusions of his countrymen — Maitland left Edinburgh on the 15th of April, taking Randolph with him as far as Berwick. Three days later he reached London. Mary Stuart still trusted Maitland with her secrets, in the belief that although he might disapprove of what she was doing he would remain true to her. He carried with him private messages to De Silva and Lady Lennox, and was thoroughly aware of all that she intended. It is certain, however, from Maitland's subsequent conduct, that although ready to go with his mistress to the edge of a rupture with Elizabeth, he was not prepared for open defiance. Elizabeth's conduct had been so strange and uncertain that it was possible that she might make no difficulty. Even the Spanish ambassador believed that although she would prefer Leicester, yet sooner than quarrel with the Queen of Scots she would agree to the marriage with Darnley; and with a faint impression that it might be so Maitland had accepted the commission. Yet either Maitland betrayed his trust, or Elizabeth already knew all that he had to tell her: immediately after his arrival De Silva reported that the Queen of England "had changed her mind;"<sup>1</sup> while Mary Stuart, as soon as

Maitland is  
sent to  
London to  
announce  
the Darnley  
marriage.

<sup>1</sup> "A lo que he podido entender esta Reyna se ha mucho alterado de este negocio." — De Silva to Philip, April 25: *MS. Simancas*.

she was freed from the restraint of Maitland's presence, no longer concealed that she had made up her mind irrevocably whether Elizabeth consented or refused.

Letters from Randolph followed close behind Maitland to say that the marriage was openly declared; Lady Lennox even told De Silva that she believed it had secretly taken place; and amidst the exultation of the Catholics a general expectation spread through England that "the good time was at hand when the King of Spain and the Queen of Scots would give them back their own again."<sup>1</sup>

Nor were their hopes without sound foundation. Mary Stuart, as soon as her resolution was taken, despatched a messenger post haste to Spain to acquaint Philip with it and to tell him that she depended on his support. The messenger met the Duke of Alva at Bayonne, where the Duke answered for his master in terms which corresponded to her warmest hopes.

"I replied," wrote Alva in a despatch to Philip. "that I had your Majesty's instructions to inform the Queen of Scots of your Majesty's interest in her welfare; I said that your Majesty earnestly desired to see her in the great position to which she aspired; and you were assured that both for herself and for the realm she could not do better than marry the young Lennox."

Philip and Alva approve the marriage.

"Your Majesty, I continued, recommended her to conduct herself with great caution and dissimulation towards the Queen of England, and for the present especially to refrain from pressing her in the matter of the succession. The Queen of England might in that case do something prejudicial to the Queen of Scots'

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Simancas.*

interests, and either declare war against her or else listen to the proposals of the Queen-mother of France and marry the young King. If the Queen of Scots would follow your Majesty's advice, your Majesty would so direct and support her that when she least expected it she would find herself in possession of all that she desired."<sup>1</sup>

The messenger flung himself at Alva's feet and wept for joy. His mistress, he said, had never in her life received such happy news as these words would convey to her; and he promised that she would act in every particular as the King of Spain advised.

Although this conversation took place two months after Maitland's despatch to England, yet it spoke of a foregone conclusion which Elizabeth too surely anticipated. In the first flurry of excitement she sent Lady Lennox to the Tower; and uncertain whether she might not be too late, she proposed to send Sir Nicholas Throgmorton on the spot to Scotland, to say that "if the Queen of Scots would accept Leicester she should be accounted and allowed next heir to the crown as though she were her own born daughter;" but "as this was certain and true on one side, so was it also certain on the other that she would not do the like with any other person."<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth  
persists in  
pressing the  
Earl of  
Leicester.

The situation, however, was too serious to allow Elizabeth to persist in the Leicester foible. The narrow and irritating offer was suspended till it could be more maturely considered; and on the 1st of May the fit-

<sup>1</sup> Alva to Philip, June: Teulet, Vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> First draft of instructions to Sir N. Throgmorton, April 24. — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

ness or unfitness of the marriage of the Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley was discussed "with long deliberation and argument" in the English Council. The result was a unanimous conclusion "that the marriage with the Lord Darnley, being attended with such circumstances as did appear, was unmeet, unprofitable, directly prejudicial to the amity between the two Queens, and perilous to the concord of the realm." But so little desirable did it seem to restrict the Queen of Scots' choice unnecessarily, so unjust it seemed to force upon her the scoundrel object of Elizabeth's own affections, that Cecil and his friends urged the necessity of meeting freely and cordially her demand for recognition; and they advised their mistress to offer the Queen of Scots "a free election of any other of the nobility, either in the whole realm or isle or any other place." "For themselves," the Council, "thinking the like of the rest of the nobility and sage men of the realm, did for their parts humbly offer to her Majesty, that whatever could be devised for the satisfaction of the Queen of Scots with some other meeter marriage should be allowed with their advice and furthered with their services when her Majesty should command them."<sup>1</sup>

With these more generous instructions Sir N. Throgmorton started for Scotland on the 4th of May. Maitland, whom, in order to prolong his absence from Edinburgh, Mary Stuart had directed to go on to France, returned with the English ambassador in loyal disobedience, to add his own

May.  
Despatch of  
Sir Nicholas  
Throg-  
morton.

<sup>1</sup> Determination of the Council on the Queen of Scots' marriage, signed Winchester, Norfolk, Derby, Pembroke, Clinton, W. Howard, Ed. Rogers, Fr. Knolles, W. Cecil, Ab. Cave, W. Petre, John Mason, R. Sackville. — *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.* Endorsed, "This is a copy of the paper delivered to Sir N. Throgmorton."

persuasions: he still hoped that the Queen of Scots might be tempted by the prospect of immediate recognition to accept either Arundel, Norfolk, or the Prince of Condé. If she would consent to marry either of these three, the English Government would do for her "more than she had asked or even could expect."<sup>1</sup>

But neither these offers, tempting as they would have been a few weeks before, nor the admonitory cautions of the Duke of Alva, came in time to save Mary from the rash course into which she was plunging. The presence of Lennox and Darnley had lashed the Scottish factions into fury, and Queen and court were within the influence of a whirlpool from which they could no longer extricate themselves. The lords on all sides were calling their retainers under arms. The Earl of Murray, at the expense of forfeiting the last remains of his influence over his sister, had summoned Bothwell to answer at Edinburgh a charge of high treason. Bothwell would have defied him had he dared; but Murray appeared accompanied by Argyle and 7000 men on the day fixed for the trial; and the Hepburn was once more obliged to fly. On the other hand Mary was lavishing on Darnley the most extravagant demonstrations of affection. He was ill, and with confiding carelessness she installed herself as his nurse at his bedside. She accused her brother when he remonstrated of "seeking to set the crown on his own head." Argyle and Murray durst not appear together at the court, "that if need were the one might relieve the other." The miserable Chatelherault could only mutter his feeble hope that he might die in his bed; while Lennox boasted openly "that

<sup>1</sup> Paul de Foix to the Queen-mother, May 2, May 10: Teulet, Vol. II.



he was sure of the greatest part of England, and that the King of Spain would be his friend."

Lennox's men went openly to mass, and "such pride was noted in the father and the son" that they would scarcely speak to any common nobleman. "My young lord lying sick in his bed boasted the Duke that he would knock his pate when he was whole;" while "the preachers looked daily to have their lives taken from them," and "the country was so far broken that there was daily slaughter without redress, stealing on all hands, and justice almost nowhere."<sup>1</sup>

Although the report of the completion of the marriage was premature, yet the arrangements for it had been pushed forward with eager precipitancy. Mary Stuart's friends in England had informed her of the resolution of the Council; she despatched one of the Betons to delay Throgmorton at Berwick; and the leading lords were sent for one by one to Stirling, where the court was staying, and were requested to sign a paper recommending Darnley as a fitting person to be the Queen's husband. Murray's signature could be ill dispensed with. He was invited among the rest, and overwhelmed with courtesies — Mary, Lennox, and Darnley contending with each other in their professions of regard. Murray, however, was the first to refuse. "He had no liking thereof." The Earl of Morton had been gained over by a release from Lady Lennox of her claims on Angus; and if Murray would have complied he might have had the lands of three counties for his reward; but in vain Mary pleaded, in vain Mary threatened. She took her brother into a room apart; she placed the paper in his hand, and re-

Murray  
endeavours  
to dissuade  
his sister  
from  
marrying  
Darnley.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, May 3: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

quired him to sign it on his allegiance. He asked for time: she said no time could be allowed, because others were waiting for his example.

Murray's character, so much debated among historians, was in the eye of those who knew him a very simple one. "He was true, faithful, honourable, earnest, stout both for the defence of God's glory and to save his sovereign's honour; and he was fearful that her doings might make a breach of amity between the two realms."<sup>1</sup> For five years he had laboured to reconcile two opposing duties: he was a zealous Protestant, but he had saved his sister from persecution, and had quarrelled with his friends in her defence; he had maintained her claims on the English succession with the loyalty of a Scot; he had united his special patriotism with as noble an anxiety for the spiritual freedom of the united realms. Few men had resisted more temptations to play a selfish game than Murray; none had carried themselves with more conspicuous uprightness in a difficult and most trying service. To the last, and long after he had known the direction in which his sister's aims were tending, he had shielded her with his name, he had assisted her with his counsels, he had striven hard to save her from the sinister and dangerous advisers to whom she was secretly listening; but he could hesitate no longer; under the miserable influence of Ritzio and her foreign correspondents, she was bringing revolution and civil war upon Scotland; and the choice was forced upon him between his country and his personal affection.

He implored the Queen to pause. She reproached him with being a slave to England. He said "that he could not consent to her marriage with one who he

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, May 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

could not assure himself would set forth Christ's true religion." She told him scornfully "it was well known from whom he had received that lesson." "He answered with humility, but he would not sign;" and Mary was left to act alone or with her own and Darnley's friends, and to endeavour to rid herself of Murray by such other means as might offer themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Her messenger meanwhile had sped fast upon his way to England, and encountered Throgmorton at Newark. Mary Stuart, concealing her resentment at Maitland's disobedience, sent him by Beton's hands "the sweetest letter that ever subject received from sovereign," "wanting neither love, eloquence, despite, anger, nor passion;" she bade him go back and tell Elizabeth that she had been trifled with too long, and that she would now follow her own mind and choice; "with the advice of her nobles she would take such an one as she thought good, and she would no longer be fed with yea and nay, and depend on such uncertain dealing."

But she had far mistaken Maitland if she believed that he would travel with her on the road into which she had been tempted by Ritzio. So desperate it seemed to him that he would have had her dragged back from it by force.

"I never saw Lidington in such perplexity and passion," wrote Throgmorton; "I could not have believed he could have been so moved; he wishes I had brought with me authority to declare war if the Queen of Scots persist, as the last refuge to stay her from this unadvised act."

Mary Stuart's orders to Maitland to return to Lon-

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, May 8: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

don were so distinct that he hesitated before he again disobeyed; he remained at Newark for a few hours after Throgmorton had gone forward; but the extremity was so serious that he ran all risks and overtook the ambassador at Alnwick. At the Border they heard the alarming news that Chatellherault had been bribed into compliance with the marriage "by a written promise to enjoy his own." "Let the Earl of Northumberland be stayed in London," Throgmorton wrote back to Leicester: "from what I hear it is very necessary. Examine Sir Richard Cholmondley, and look well and sharp to the doings of that party." "The Papists in these parts do rouse themselves." "Look to yourselves and her Majesty's safety." "Sir Henry Percy is dangerous."<sup>1</sup>

Time pressed. On the 15th Lord Darnley was to be created Earl of Ross at Stirling; when, being an English subject, he would swear allegiance to the Queen of Scots without leave sought or obtained from his own sovereign. A dukedom had been first intended for him; the higher title had been suspended, and the foolish boy struck with his dagger at the justice-clerk who was sent to tell him of the unwelcome change. But whether earl or duke he would alike commit treason to Elizabeth, and Throgmorton hurried forward to be in time if possible to prevent a catastrophe which would make reconciliation hopeless. A message from the Queen of Scots met him at Edinburgh that he should have his audience when the creation was over, and that he must remain where he was till she sent for him. So well he wished to Mary that he would not obey; he pushed right on to Stirling, and

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton to Leicester and Cecil, from Berwick, May 11 and 12: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

reached the castle on the morning of the fatal day. But the gates were locked in his face; and it was not till toward evening that he received an intimation that the Queen would receive him.

When he was at last admitted into her presence the creation was over; the oath had been sworn; Throgmorton at Stirling. and the Queen of Scots stood triumphant, her eyes flashing pride and defiance, surrounded by half the northern lords. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton and Mary Stuart had last met on the eve of her departure from France, when he had vainly entreated her to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. He was now witnessing another act of the same drama.

In England he had been a warm advocate of her recognition, and she received him with gracious kindness. He presented his despatches; he then said that he was sent by the Queen of England to express "her surprise at the hasty proceedings with the Lord Darnley, seeing how he and his father had failed of their duty in enterprising such a matter without her Majesty's knowledge and consent."

Mary Stuart, affecting the utmost surprise in turn, professed herself at a loss to understand Elizabeth's meaning. It was not to be supposed, she said, that she would remain always unmarried; the foreign princes who had proposed for her had been unwelcome to the Queen of England, and she had imagined that in taking an English nobleman who was equally acceptable to both realms, she would have met her sister's wishes most exactly.

The truth sprung to Throgmorton's lips; he had been a true friend to her and he would speak plainly.

He told her that she knew very well what the Queen of England had desired; and she knew also

that she was doing the very thing which was not desired. The Queen of England had wished her to take some one "who would maintain the amity between the two nations;" and by Lord Darnley that amity would not be maintained.

Argument was of course unavailing. The Queen of Scots had on her side the letter of Elizabeth's words — for Darnley was the nominee of the English Catholics; and the Catholics outnumbered the Protestants. After some discussion she promised to suspend the celebration of the marriage for three months, in the hope that in the interval Elizabeth would look more favourably on it; but Throgmorton saw that she was determined; and he doubted whether she would adhere to the small concession which she had made.

"The matter is irrevocable," he reported to Elizabeth; "I do find this Queen so captivate either by love or cunning — or rather to say truly by boasting or folly — that she is not able to keep promise with herself, and therefore not able to keep promise with your Majesty in these matters."<sup>1</sup>

Anticipating an immediate insurrection in Northumberland and Yorkshire, he begged that Bedford, who had gone to London, might return to Berwick without an hour's delay; and that the troops there might be largely reinforced. He returned at his leisure through York, to inform the Council there of the names of dangerous persons which he had learnt in Scotland; and meanwhile he sketched a course of action to Leicester and Cecil which would either prevent the marriage or cripple it with conditions which would deprive it of its danger.

Elizabeth, he thought, should immediately make pub-

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton to Elizabeth, May 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

lie "the indignity" which had been offered her by the Queen of Scots, and should declare without ambiguity her intention of "chastising the arrogance" of subjects who had disowned their allegiance. He recommended the arrest of the Earl of Northumberland, the detention of Lady Lennox "in close and separate confinement," and the adoption of prompt measures to disabuse "the Papists" of their belief "that they were themselves in credit and estimation." An eye should be kept on the Spanish ambassador — "there the matter imported much" — and favour should be shown to Lady Catherine Grey, who, though fast sinking under hard usage, still survived. The English Government should avoid differences with France and Spain; and then "either a breach of the matter would follow or else a good composition."<sup>1</sup>

Randolph, after Throgmorton's departure, continued at his post, and sent up accounts from week to week of the position of parties and of the progress of the crisis.

He described Darnley as a conceited, arrogant, intolerable fool; he spoke of Murray as true to his mistress in the highest sense, and still labouring to save her from herself — of Maitland "as more honest than many looked for" — of Argyle and the Lords of the old Congregation as true to their principles, and working all together — of the Earl of Ruthven alone "as to his shame stirring coals to bring the marriage to effect." "Of the poor Queen herself" he knew not what to say, "so pitiful her condition seemed to him;" "he had esteemed her before," he said, "so worthy, so

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton to Cecil and Leicester, May 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

wise, so honourable in all her doings ;” and he “ found her so altered with affection towards Lord Darnley that she had brought her honour in question, her estate in hazard, her country torn to pieces.”<sup>1</sup>

Apparent  
change in  
Mary's  
character.

Affection it might be, or else, as Maitland thought, “ the foundation of the matter might have been anger and despire :” so far from loving the weak idiot whom she had chosen, she was more likely already shuddering at the sacrifice which her ambition and revenge had demanded ; Lord Darnley had few qualities to command either love or respect from Mary Stuart.

“ David Ritzio,” continued Randolph in a later letter, “ is he that now worketh all, chief secretary to the Queen and only governor to her good man. The bruits here are wonderful, men’s talk very strange, the hatred towards Lord Darnley and his house marvellous great, his pride intolerable, his words not to be borne, but where no man dare speak again. He spareth not also in token of his manhood to let blows fly where he knows they will be taken. When men have said all and thought what they can, they find nothing but that God must send him a short end or themselves a miserable life. They do not now look for help from England. Whatsoever I speak is counted but wind. If her Majesty will not use force, let her spend three or four thousand pounds. It is worth the expense of so much money to cut off the suspicion that men make of her Majesty, that she never liked thing in her life better than to see this Queen so meanly matched. She is now so much altered from that which lately she was known to be that

June.  
Lord  
Darnley.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Leicester and Cecil, May 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*



who now beholdeth her doth not think her to be the same. Her majesty is laid aside; her wits not such as they were; her beauty other than it was; her cheer and countenance changed into I wot not what—a woman more to be pitied than any that ever I saw. The Lord Darnley has said that if there were war to-morrow between England and Scotland, this Queen should find more friends in England than the Queen's Majesty's self."<sup>1</sup>

Maitland continued to write confidentially to Cecil, promising to do his best to prevent a collision between the two countries, and entreating Cecil to assist him. Randolph, distracted by the suspicions of Elizabeth's motives which he saw round him, advised that "unless the Queen of Scots was to be allowed to take her will," an English army should advance to the Border, and that he should be himself empowered to promise the Congregation distinct and open support. In that case all would be well. "The Papists should be bridled at home, and all intelligence cut off between them and the Scots: and either Mary Stuart would be put to the hardest shift that ever prince was at, or such a stir in Scotland that what part soever was strongest should be the longer liver."<sup>2</sup>

The agitation in England after Throgmorton's return was almost as great. A series of remarkable papers remain to illustrate the alarm with which the crisis was regarded, and to reveal many unexpected features in the condition of the country.

First is a paper in Cecil's hand, dated the 2d of June, entitled "The perils and troubles that may pres-

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Leicester and Cecil, June 3: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, June 12: *Ibid.*

ently ensue, and in time to come follow, upon the marriage of the Queen of Scots with the Lord Darnley."

"The minds," thus this paper runs, "of all such as be affected to the Queen of Scots either for herself, or for the opinion of her pretences to Agitation in England. this Crown, or for the desire to have a change in the form of religion in this realm, or for the discontentation they have of the Queen's Majesty or her successors, or of the succession of any other besides the Queen of Scots, shall be by this marriage erected, comforted, and induced to devise and labour how to bring their desires to pass; and to make some estimate what persons these are, to the intent the quantity of the peril may be weighed, the same may be composed in these sorts either within the realm or without.

"The first are such as are especially devoted to the Queen of Scots or the Lord Darnley by bond Probable consequence of the Darnley marriage. of blood and alliance — as all the House of Lorraine and Guise for her part, and the Earl of Lennox and his wife, with all such in Scotland as be of their blood there and have received displeasure by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Hamiltons.

"The second are all manner of persons both in this realm and in other countries that are devoted to the authority of Rome and mislike of the religion here received; and in these two sorts are the substance of them comprehended that shall take comfort in this marriage.

"Next therefore is to be considered what perils and troubles these kind of men shall intend to this realm.

"The general scope and mark of all their designs is, and always shall be, to bring the Queen of Scots to have the royal Crown of this realm; and therefore

though their devices may vary amongst themselves for the compassing hereof, according to the accidents of the times, and according to the impediments which they shall find by means of the Queen's Majesty's actions and government, yet all their purposes shall wholly and only tend to make the Queen of Scots, Queen of this realm, and to deprive our sovereign lady thereof. And in these their proceedings there are two manner of things to be considered, the one of which is far worse than the other. The one is intended by them that, either for malicious blindness in religion or for natural affection to the Queen of Scots or the Lord Darnley, do persuade themselves that the said Queen of Scots hath presently more right to the Crown than our sovereign the Queen, of which sort be all their kindred of both sides and all such as are devoted to the Papacy either in England, Scotland, Ireland, or elsewhere. The other is meant of them which less maliciously are persuaded that the Queen of Scots hath only right to be the next heir to succeed the Queen's Majesty and her issue, of which sort few are without the realm but here within; and yet of them not so many as are of the contrary. And from these two sorts shall the devices and practices proceed.

“From the first are to be looked for these perils. It is to be doubted that the devil will infect some of them to imagine the hindrance of our dearest sovereign lady by such means as the devil will suggest to them; although it is to be assuredly hoped that Almighty God will — as hitherto He hath — graciously protect and preserve her from such dangers.

“There will be attempted by persuasions, by bruits and rumours and such like to alienate the minds of good subjects from the Queen's Majesty, and to con-

ciliate them to the Queen of Scots, and in this behalf the frontier and the north will be much solicited and laboured. There will be attempted tumults and rebellions, specially in the north towards Scotland, so as thereupon may follow some open extremity by violence. There will be by the said Queen's Council and friends a new league made with France or Spain that shall be offensive to this realm and a furtherance to their title; and it is also likely they will set on foot as many practices as they can, both upon the frontier and in Ireland, to occasion the Queen's Majesty to continue her charges, thereby to retain her from being wealthy or potent. From the second is not much to be feared; but they will content themselves to serve notably the Queen's Majesty and so to impeach her not to marry; but to hope that the Queen of Scots shall have issue, which they will think to be more plausible to all men because thereby the Houses of England and Scotland shall be united in one, and thereby the occasions of war shall cease; with which persuasions many people may be seduced and abused to incline themselves to the Queen of Scots." <sup>1</sup>

The several points thus prepared by Cecil for the consideration of the Council were enlarged in the discussion which ensued on them.

"By some it was thought plainly that the peril was greater by the marriage with the Lord Darnley than with the mightiest prince abroad; " Especial dangers anticipated from the Darnley marriage. a stranger would have few friends in England; the Lord Darnley being an English subject, "whatever power he could make by the faction of the Papists or other discontented persons would be

<sup>1</sup> *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10.*

though their devices may vary amongst themselves for the compassing hereof, according to the accidents of the times, and according to the impediments which they shall find by means of the Queen's Majesty's actions and government, yet all their purposes shall wholly and only tend to make the Queen of Scots Queen of this realm, and to deprive our sovereign lady thereof. And in these their proceedings there are two manner of things to be considered, the one of which is far worse than the other. The one is intended by them that, either for malicious blindness in religion or for natural affection to the Queen of Scots or the Lord Darnley, do persuade themselves that the said Queen of Scots hath presently more right to the Crown than our sovereign the Queen, of which sort be all their kindred of both sides and all such as are devoted to the Papacy either in England, Scotland, Ireland, or elsewhere. The other is meant of them which less maliciously are persuaded that the Queen of Scots hath only right to be the next heir to succeed the Queen's Majesty and her issue, of which sort few are without the realm but here within; and yet of them not so many as are of the contrary. And from these two sorts shall the devices and practices proceed.

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Especial  
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<sup>1</sup> *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10.*

so much deducted from the power of the realm." "A small faction of adversaries at home was more dangerous than thrice their number abroad;" and it was remembered that "foreign powers had never prevailed in England but with the help of some at home."

It "had been observed and manifestly seen before this attempt at marriage that in every corner of the realm the factions that most favoured the Scottish title had grown stout and bold;" "they had shown themselves in the very Court itself;" and unless checked promptly "they would grow so great and dangerous as redress would be almost desperate." "Scarcely a third of the population were assured to be trusted in the matter of religion, upon which only string the Queen of Scots' title did hang;" and "comfort had been given to the adversaries of religion in the realm to hope for change," "by means that the bishops had dealt straightly with some persons of good religion because they had forborne to wear certain apparel and such like things—being more of form and accident than any substance." "The pride and arrogancy of the Catholics had been increased" by the persecution of the Protestants; while if the bishops attempted to enforce conformity on the other side "the judges and lawyers in the realm being not the best affected in religion did threaten them with preminure, and in many cases letted not to punish and defame them," "so that they dared not execute the ecclesiastical laws."

For much of all this the Queen was responsible. She it was who more than any other person had nursed "the Scottish faction" at the Court. If the bishops had been too eager to persecute the Catholics, it was she who had compelled Parker to suspend the ablest of

Effect of the  
persecution  
of the  
English  
Protestants.

the Protestant ministers: "But the sum of the perils was made so apparent as no one of the Council could deny them to be both many and very dangerous." They were agreed every one of them that the Queen must for the present relinquish her zeal for uniformity, and that the prosecutions of the clergy must cease till the question could be reconsidered by Parliament; they determined to require the oath of allegiance of the judges, "so that they should for conscience' sake maintain the Queen's authority," to replace the nonjuring bishops in the Tower, to declare forfeited all benefices held by ecclesiastics who were residing abroad, and to drive out a number of seditious monks and friars who had fled across the Border from Scotland and were serving as curates in the northern churches. Bedford meanwhile should go down to Berwick, taking additional troops with him; the "powers of the Border" should be held in readiness to move at an hour's notice; and a reserve be raised in London to march north in case of war. Lennox and Darnley might then be required to return to England on their allegiance. If they refused they would be declared traitors, and their extradition demanded of the Queen of Scots under the treaties.

The Council  
advise  
vigorous  
measures.

So far the Council was unanimous. As to what should be done if the Queen of Scots refused to surrender them, opinions were divided. The bolder party were for declaring immediate war and sending an army to Edinburgh; others preferred to wait till events had shaped themselves more distinctly; all however agreed on the necessity of vigour, speed, and resolution. "No persons deserving of mistrust were to be suffered to have any rule of her Majesty's subjects or lands in the north;" they might "retain their fees," "but more



trusty persons should have the rule of their people." The Earl of Murray and his friends should be comforted and supported; and "considering the faction and title of the Queen of Scots had for a long time received great countenance by the Queen's Majesty's favour shown to the said Queen and her ministers," the Council found themselves compelled to desire her Majesty "by some exterior act to show some remission of her displeasure to the Lady Catherine and the Earl of Hertford."

Further — for it was time to speak distinctly, and her Majesty's mode of dealing in such matters being better known than appreciated — she was requested after considering these advices to choose which of them she liked, and put them in execution *in deeds, and not pass them over in consultations and speeches*.<sup>1</sup>

Nor did the Council separate without returning once more to the vexed question of the The Queen's marriage. Queen's marriage. So long as she remained single they represented gravely that "no surety could be devised to ascertain any person of continuance of their families and posterities." The French affair had dragged on. Elizabeth had coquetted with it as a kitten plays with a ball. The French ambassador, De Foix, on the 2d of May made an effort to force an answer from her, one way or the other. "The world," he said, "had been made in six days, and she had already spent eighty and was still undecided." Elizabeth had endeavoured to escape by saying that the world "had been made by a greater artist than herself; that she was constitutionally irresolute, and had

<sup>1</sup> The words in italics are underlined in the original.

Summary of consultations and advices given to her Majesty, June, 1565: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B.* 10. Debates in Council, June 4, 1565: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

lost many fair opportunities by a want of promptitude in seizing them." Four days later, on the receipt of bad news from Scotland, she wavered towards acceptance: she wrote to Catherine de Medici to say "that she could not decline an offer so generously made; she would call Parliament immediately, and if her subjects approved she was willing to abide by their resolution."<sup>1</sup>

A Parliamentary discussion could not be despatched in a moment. The Queen-mother on receiving Elizabeth's letter asked how soon she might expect an answer; and when Sir T. Smith told her that perhaps four months would elapse first, she affected astonishment at the necessity of so much ceremony. If the Queen of England was herself satisfied she thought it was enough.

"Madam," replied Smith, "her people be not like your people; they must be trained by *douceur* and persuasion, not by rigour and violence. There is no realm in Christendom better governed, better policed, and in more felicity of quiet and good order, than is the realm of England; and in case my sovereign should go to work as ye say, God knows what would come of it; you have an opinion that her Majesty is wise; her answer is very much in a little space and containeth more substance of matter than multitude of words."<sup>2</sup>

Catherine de Medici but half accepted the excuse, regarding it only as a pretext for delay. Yet Elizabeth was probably serious, and had the English Council been in favour of the marriage, in her desperation at the attitude of Mary Stuart she might have felt

<sup>1</sup> "La response de la Reyne," May 6: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Smith to Elizabeth, May, 1565: *MS. Ibid.*

herself compelled to make a sacrifice which would insure for her the alliance of France. Paul de Foix one day at the end of May found her in her room playing chess.

“Madam,” he said to her, “you have before you the game of life. You lose a pawn; it seems a small matter; but with the pawn you lose the game.”

Elizabeth  
and the  
French am-  
bassador.

“I see your meaning,” she answered. “Lord Darnley is but a pawn, but unless I look to it I shall be checkmated.”

She rose from her seat, led the ambassador apart, and said bitterly she would make Lennox and his son smart for their insolence.

De Foix admitted and made the most of the danger; “her enemies,” he allowed, “all over the world were wishing to see Mary Stuart and Darnley married,” and unfortunately there were also clearsighted able English statesmen who desired it as well, as a means of uniting the crowns. “But your Majesty,” he added, has in your hands both your own safety and your rival’s ruin. France has been the shield of Scotland in its English wars. Take that shield for yourself. The world is dangerous, the strongest will fare the best, and your Majesty knows that the Queen of Scots dreads no one thing so much as your marriage with the most Christian King.”

With mournful irony Elizabeth replied that she did not deserve so much happiness.<sup>1</sup> The English Council in pressing her to take a husband was thinking less of a foreign alliance than of an heir to the Crown; and the most Christian King was unwelcome to her advisers, for the reason perhaps for which she would

<sup>1</sup> Paul de Foix to the Queen-mother, June 2: Teulet, Vol. II.

have preferred him to any other suitor. The full-grown, able-bodied Archduke Charles was the person on whom the hearts of the truest of her statesmen had long been fixed. The Queen referred De Foix to the Council; and the Council on the 2d of June informed him "that on mature consideration and with a full appreciation of the greatness of the offer, the age of the King of France, the uncertainty of the English succession, and the unlikelihood of children from that marriage for several years at least, obliged them to advise their mistress to decline his proposals."<sup>1</sup>

The next day Elizabeth sent for the ambassador of the Duke of Wirtemberg who was acting in England in behalf of Maximilian. She told him that she had once resolved to live and die a maiden Queen; but she deferred to the remonstrances of her subjects, and she desired him to tell the Emperor that she had at last made up her mind to marry.<sup>2</sup> She had inquired of the Spanish ambassador whether the King of Spain still wished to see her the wife of his cousin. The ambassador had assured her that the King could not be more anxious if the Archduke had been a child of his own. She said that she could not bind herself to accept a person whom she had never seen; but she expressed her earnest wish that the Archduke should come to England.

Elizabeth holds out hopes that she will take the Archduke after all.

The minister of Wirtemberg, in writing to Maximilian, added his own entreaties to those of the Queen; he said that "there was no fear for the Archduke's honour; the Queen's situation was so critical that if

<sup>1</sup> Mignet's *Mary Stuart*, Vol. I. p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> "Se constituisset nunc nubere."

the Archduke would consent to come she could not dare to affront the imperial family by afterwards refusing his hand.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Adam Schetowitz to Maximilian, June 4, 1565: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE two Queens were again standing in the same relative positions which had led to the crisis of 1560. Mary Stuart was once more stretching out her hand to grasp Elizabeth's Crown. From her recognition as heir presumptive the step to a Catholic revolution was immediate and certain; and Elizabeth's affectation of Catholic practices would avail little to save her. Again, as before, the stability of the English Government appeared to depend on the maintenance of the Protestants in Scotland; and again State of parties in Scotland. the Protestants were too weak to protect themselves without help from abroad. The House of Hamilton was in danger from the restitution of Lennox and the approaching elevation of Darnley; the Earl of Lennox claimed the second place in the Scotch succession in opposition to the Duke of Chatelherault; and the Queen of Scots had avowed her intention of entailing her Crown in the line of the Stuarts. Thus there were the same parties and the same divisions. But the Protestants were split among themselves, among the counter influences of hereditary alliance and passion. The cession of her claims on the Earldom of Angus by Lady Margaret had won to Darnley's side the powerful and dangerous Earl of Morton, and had alienated from Murray the kindred houses of Ruthven and Lindsay. There was no longer an Arran marriage to cajole the patriotism of the many noblemen to whom

the glory of Scotland was dearer than their creed ; and all those whose hearts were set on winning for a Scotch prince or princess the English succession, were now devoted to their Queen. Thus the Duke of Chatelherault, with the original group who had formed the nucleus of the Congregation, — Murray, Argyle, Glencairn, Boyd, and Ochiltree, — found themselves alone against the whole power of their country.

Secure on the side of France, Elizabeth would have been less uneasy at the weakness of the Protestants had the loyalty of her own subjects been open to no suspicion ; but the state of England was hardly more satisfactory than that of Scotland. In 1560 the recent loss of Calais and the danger of foreign invasion had united the nation in defence of its independence. Two thirds of the peers were opposed at heart to Cecil's policy ; but the menaces of France had roused the patriotism of the nation. Spain was then perplexed and neutral ; and the Catholics had for a time been paralyzed by the recent memories of the Marian persecution.

Now, although the dangers were the same, Elizabeth's embarrassments were incomparably greater. The studied trifling with which she had disregarded the general anxiety for her marriage had created a party for the Queen of Scots amidst the most influential classes of the people. The settlement of the succession was a passion among them which amounted to a disease ; while the union of the Crowns was an object of rational desire to every thoughtful English statesman. The Protestants were disheartened ; they had gained no wisdom by suffering ; the most sincere among them were as wild and intolerant as those who had made the reign

Strength of  
Mary  
Stuart's  
position.

of Edward a byword of mismanagement ; the Queen was as unreasonable with them on her side as they were extravagant on theirs ; while Catholicism, recovering from its temporary paralysis, was reasserting the superiority which the matured creed of centuries has a right to claim over the half-shaped theories of revolution. Had Mary Stuart followed the advice which Alva gave to her messenger at Bayonne, had she been prudent and forbearing, and trusted her cause to time till Philip had disposed of the Turks and was at leisure to give her his avowed support, the game was in her hands. Her choice of Darnley, sanctioned as it was by Spain, had united in her favour the Conservative strength of England ; and either Elizabeth must have allowed the marriage and accepted the Queen of Scots as her successor, or she must have herself yielded to pressure, fulfilled her promises at last, and married the Archduke Charles.

This possibility and this alone created Mary's difficulties. She knew what Philip's engagements meant ; she knew that Spain desired as little as France to see England and Scotland a united and powerful kingdom ; and that if Elizabeth could be recalled out of her evil ways by a Catholic alliance, the cabinet of Madrid would think no more of Darnley or herself. She would have to exchange an immediate and splendid triumph for the doubtful prospect of the eventual succession should her rival die without a child.

Nor did Elizabeth herself misunderstand the necessity to which she would be driven unless Mary Stuart saved her by some false move. She had played so often with the Archduke's name that her words had ceased to command belief ; but at last she was thinking of him seriously — the more seriously perhaps, be-



cause many Englishmen who had before been most eager to provide her with a husband were now as well or better satisfied with the prospect of the succession of the Queen of Scots.

“The Queen,” De Silva wrote on the 8th of June to Philip, “has taken alarm at the divisions among her subjects. A great many of them she is well aware are in favour of Lord Darnley and Mary Stuart. Several of the most powerful noblemen in England have long withdrawn from the Court, and are looking to this marriage for the union of the two Crowns. The Queen must now come to a resolution about the Archduke Charles. She understands fully that a marriage with him is the sole means left to her of preserving her alliance with your Majesty, of resisting her enemies, and of preventing a rebellion. She detests the thought of it; and yet so strange is her position that she dares not encounter Parliament for fear her excuses may be accepted. The people have ceased to care whether she marries or remains single; they are ready to entail the Crown on the King and Queen of Scotland.

“Her hope at present is to throw Scotland into confusion with the help of the Duke of Chatelherault, who cannot endure that the House of Lennox should be preferred to the Hamiltons. She is frightening the Huguenots in France by telling them that if the Queen of Scots obtains the English Crown she will avenge her uncle’s death and assist the Catholics to extirpate them. She will temporize till she see how her tricks succeed. If she can save herself by any other means she will not marry.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Por las Cartas de Londres, de viii. Junio, 1565”: *MS. Simancas*.

Mary  
Stuart's  
friends in  
England.

The two players were not ill-matched, though for the present the Queen of Scots had the advantage. "The matter," said Sir Thomas Smith, "was not so suddenly done as suddenly it did break out; the practice was of an elder time. It was finely handled to make the Queen's Majesty a labourer for the restitution of the father and a sender in of the son."<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth had been outmanœuvred and had placed herself in a perilous dilemma. Half the Council had advised her to demand the extradition of Darnley and Lennox, and declare war if it was refused. She had rejected the bolder part of the advice; but she had allowed Throgmorton to promise Murray and his friends that if they interfered by force to prevent the marriage they should be supported by England; and if they rose in arms and failed, and if they called upon her to fulfil her engagements, she would have to comply and run all hazards, or she would justify the worst suspicions which the Scotch Protestants already entertained of her sincerity, and convert into enemies the only friends that she possessed among Mary Stuart's subjects.

In the first outburst of her anger she seemed prepared to dare everything. After the departure of Throgmorton from Scotland, the Queen of Scots sent Hay of Balmerinloch with a letter in which she protested with the most innocent simplicity that in all which she had done she had been actuated only by the purest desire to meet her dear sister's wishes; that she was alike astonished and grieved to hear that she had done wrong; but that as Elizabeth was dissatisfied she would refer the question once more to a commission; and on her own side she proposed the unus-

<sup>1</sup> Smith to Cecil, July 3: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

picious names of Murray, Maitland, Morton, and Glencairn.<sup>1</sup>

Had Elizabeth complied with this suggestion she would have committed herself to an admission that a question existed, and that the Darnley marriage was not wholly intolerable. She had no intention of admitting anything of the kind. She replied with requiring Lennox and Darnley on their allegiance to return immediately to England; and the Queen of Scots' letter she answered only with a request that they might be sent home without delay.

Elizabeth requires Lennox and Darnley to return to England.

Neither Lennox nor Mary expected such peremptory dealing. The order of return was short of a declaration of war, and some of those who knew Elizabeth best did not believe that war was coming;<sup>2</sup> but Mary Stuart knew too well her own intentions to escape misgivings that the Queen of England might be as resolute as herself. When Randolph presented the letter with the message which accompanied it, she burst into tears; Lennox was silent with dismay; Darnley alone, too foolish to comprehend the danger, remained careless and defiant,<sup>3</sup> and said shortly "he had no mind to return." Mary Stuart, as soon as she could collect herself, said she trusted that her good sister did not mean what she had written. Randolph replied that

<sup>1</sup> The Queen of Scots to the Queen of England, June 14: Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Paul de Foix to Catherine de Medici, June 18: Teulet, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> A sad and singular horoscope had already been cast for Darnley. "His behaviour," Randolph wrote to Cecil, "is such that he is come in open contempt of all men that were his chief friends. What shall become of him I know not; but it is greatly to be feared he can have no long life amongst this people. The Queen being of better understanding, seeketh to frame and fashion him to the nature of her subjects; but no persuasion can alter that which custom hath made in him. He is counted proud, disdainful, and suspicious, which kind of men this soil of any other can least bear." Randolph to Cecil, July 2: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*. Printed in Keith.

she most certainly did mean it; and speaking plainly as his habit was, he added "that if they refused to return, and her Grace comforted them in so doing, the Queen his mistress had both power and will to be revenged on them, being her subjects."

From the Court Randolph went to Argyle and Murray, who had ascertained meanwhile that there was no time to lose; the Bishop of Dunblane had been sent to the Pope; Mary Stuart had obtained money from Flanders; she had again sent for Bothwell, and she meant immediate mischief. The two earls expressed their belief that "the time was come to put to a remedy." "They saw their sovereign determined to overthrow religion received, and sore bent against those that desired the amity with England to be continued, which two points they were bound in conscience to maintain and defend." They had resolved therefore "to withstand such attempts with all their power, and to provide for their sovereign's estate better than she could at that time consider for herself." They intended to do nothing which was not for their mistress's real advantage; Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had assured them of the Queen of England's "godly and friendly offer to concur with and assist them;" the Queen of England's interest was as much concerned as their own; and they "humbly desired the performance of her Majesty's promises:" they did not ask for an English army; if her Majesty would give them three thousand pounds they could hold their followers together, and would undertake the rest for themselves; Lennox and Darnley could be seized and "delivered into Berwick," if her Majesty would receive them.

To these communications Randolph replied with re

Randolph in Elizabeth's name encourages the Protestant noblemen to rebel.

newed assurances that Elizabeth would send them whatever assistance they required. He gave them the warmest encouragement to persevere; and as to the father and son whom they proposed to kidnap, the English Government, he said, "could not and would not refuse their own in what sort soever they came."<sup>1</sup>

The Queen of Scots was not long in receiving intelligence of what the Lords intended against her. She sent a message to her brother requesting that he would meet her at Perth. As he was mounting his horse a hint was given him that if he went he would not return alive, and that Darnley and Ritzio had formed a plan to kill him. He withdrew to his mother's castle at Lochleven and published the occasion of his disobedience. Mary Stuart replied with a countercharge that the Earl of Murray had purposed to take her prisoner and carry off Darnley to England. Both stories were probably true: Murray's offer to Randolph is sufficient evidence against himself. Lord Darnley's conspiracy against the Earl was no more than legitimate retaliation. Civil war was fast approaching; and it is impossible to acquit Elizabeth of having done her best to foster it. Afraid to take an open part lest she should have an insurrection on her own hands at home, she was ready to employ to the uttermost the assistance of the Queen of Scot's own subjects, and she trusted to diplomacy or accident to extricate herself from the consequences.

On receiving Randolph's letter, which explained with sufficient clearness the intentions of the Protestant noblemen, she not only did not find fault with the engagements to which he had committed her, but she

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, July 2 and July 4: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*, Printed in Keith.

directed him under her own hand to assure them of her perfect satisfaction with the course which they were preparing to pursue. She could have entertained no sort of doubt that they would use violence ; yet she did not even conceal her approbation under ambiguous or uncertain phrases. She said that they should find her "in all their just and honourable causes regard their state and continuance ;" "if by malice or practice they were forced to any inconveniency, they should find no lack in her ;" she desired merely that in carrying out their enterprise they would "spend no more money than their security made necessary, nor less which might bring danger."<sup>1</sup>

As the collision drew near, both parties prepared for it by endeavouring to put themselves right with the country. No sooner was it generally known in Scotland that the Queen intended to marry a Catholic than the General Assembly rushed together at Edinburgh. The extreme Protestants were able to appeal to the fulfilment of their predictions of evil when Mary Stuart was permitted the free exercise of her own religion. Like the children of Israel on their entrance into Canaan, they had made terms with wickedness : they had sown the wind of a carnal policy and were now reaping the whirlwind. A resolution was passed —  
to which Murray, though he was present, no longer raised his voice in opposition — that  
the sovereign was not exempt from obedience to the law of the land, that the mass should be put utterly away, and the reformed service take the place of it in the royal chapel.

July.  
Measures of  
the General  
Assembly.

Mary Stuart had been described by Randolph as so much changed that those who had known her when

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Randolph, July 10: Printed in Keith.

she was under Murray's and Maitland's tutelage were astonished at the alteration ; manner, words, features, all were different ; in mind and body she was said to be swollen and disfigured by the tumultuous working of her passions.

So perhaps she may have appeared in Randolph's eyes ; and yet the change may have been more in Randolph's power of insight than in the object at which he looked. Never certainly did she Skill and energy of Mary Stuart. show herself cooler or more adroit than in her present emergency. She replied to the Assembly with returning from Perth to Edinburgh ; and as a first step towards recovering their confidence she attended a Protestant sermon. To the resolution of the General Assembly she delayed her answer, but she issued circulars protesting that neither then nor at any past time had she entertained a thought of interfering with her subjects' religion ; the toleration which she had requested for herself she desired only to extend to others ; her utmost wish had been that her subjects might worship God freely in the form which each most approved.<sup>1</sup>

A Catholic sovereign sincerely pleading to a Protestant Assembly for liberty of conscience might have been a lesson to the bigotry of mankind ; but Mary Stuart was not sincere ; and could the Assembly have believed her they would have thought her French teaching was bearing fruits more deadly than Popery itself. The Protestant respected the Catholic as an honest worshipper of something, though that something might be the devil. "Liberty of conscience" was the crime of the Laodiceans, which hell and heaven alike rejected.

<sup>1</sup> Circular by the Queen, July 17.

The attendance of Mary Stuart at sermon produced as little effect on the Congregation as Elizabeth's candles and crucifixes on the hatred of the English Papists. The elders of the Church dispersed; Argyle, Murray, and their friends withdrew to Stirling; and on the 18th of July they despatched a messenger to Elizabeth with a bond, in which they pledged themselves to resist all attempts either to restore the Catholic ritual or to dissolve the English alliance. From their own sovereign they professed to hope for nothing but evil. They looked to the Queen of England "as under God protectress most special of the professors of religion;" and they thanked her warmly for the promises of help on which it was evident that they entirely relied.<sup>1</sup>

They relied on those promises; and to have doubted them would have been nothing less than a studied insult. The English ambassador was ordered a second time, and more imperiously, to command Lennox and Darnley to go back to England; while avowedly by the direct instructions of his mistress he laid her thanks and wishes before the Lords in a formal and written address.<sup>2</sup>

#### RANDOLPH TO THE LORDS OF SCOTLAND.<sup>3</sup>

*July, 1565.*

"Right Honourable and my very good Lords, — It is not out of your remembrance that Sir Nicholas

<sup>1</sup> "Understanding by your Highness's ambassador, Sir N. Throgmorton, and also by the information of your Majesty's servant Master Randolph, the good and gracious mind which your Majesty with continuance beareth, to the maintenance of the Gospel and us that profess the same," &c. — *The Lords in Stirling to the Queen of England, July 18: Keith, Vol. II. p. 329.*

<sup>2</sup> It is necessary, at the risk of being tedious, to dwell on these particulars of Elizabeth's conduct. Each separate promise was as a nail which left a rent in her reputation when she endeavoured to free herself.

<sup>3</sup> *Lansdowne MSS. 8.*



Throgmorton being at Stirling, ambassador for the Queen's Majesty my mistress to the Queen's Majesty your sovereign, it was declared at good length both to her Grace's self and also to you of her honourable Council, what misliking the Queen my mistress hath that the Lord Darnley should join marriage with the Queen your sovereign, for divers and weighty reasons; of which some were there presently rehearsed, others for great and weighty respects left unspoken, until occasion better serve to utter her Majesty's griefs for the strange manner of dealing that hath been used towards her, divers ways and by divers persons, contrary to that expectation she had. The Queen your sovereign having answered that she would in no wise alter her determination, the Queen my mistress commanded this resolution and answer to be propounded in Council, and to be considered according to the weight thereof, being touched thereby as well in honour as that it was against the repose and tranquillity of her Majesty's realm. And her Majesty's Council remaining in that mind that before they were of — which is that divers ways it must needs be prejudicial to the amity of the two countries, that it tendeth greatly to the subversion of Christ's true religion received and established in them both, they have not only received that with content which your lordships have subscribed with your hands, but also have become suitors to your Majesty that she will provide for her own surety and the surety of the realm against all practices and devices, from wheresoever they be intended.

“And forasmuch as nothing is more needful for both the realms than the continuance of a good and perfect amity between them and those whose hearts

Randolph  
again prom-  
ises the  
Lords as-  
sistance  
from Eng-  
land.

God hath united in one true and perfect doctrine, they have also desired that it will please her Majesty that she will have consideration of the Protestants and true professors of religion in this realm of Scotland, that Christ's holy word may be continued amongst them, and the amity remain betwixt both the countries. And because of all the apparent troubles that may ensue, as well for the subversion of Christ's word in both the countries as also for the breach of amity, the Earl of Lennox, and his son the Lord Darnley, are known to be the authors, and many of their practices, as well in England, Scotland and further parts, to that end discovered, it pleased the Queen my mistress to begin at the root and ground of all these mischiefs, and thereof hath presently sent her express commandment to them both, charging them to leave the realm of Scotland and repair unto her presence as they will avoid her Majesty's indignation; in refusing of which they shall give further occasion for her to proceed against them and their assisters than willingly she would.

"And to the intent it may be further known what the Queen's my mistress's purpose is if they do contrary to this charge of her Majesty, I am commanded to assure all persons here that the Queen my mistress meaneth to let the Queen your sovereign well understand by her deeds how she can measure this dishonourable kind of dealing and manner of proceeding; and according to the effect of such answers as shall be given unto me, as well from the Queen's Majesty your sovereign as from the Earl of Lennox and his son, and what thereof shall follow, her Majesty meaneth to let it manifestly appear unto the world how to use her towards such as so far forget themselves.

"To give also declaration of the tender care and

good consideration the Queen my sovereign has over all those of this nation that mind to keep the realm without alteration of the religion received and will not neglect her Majesty's friendship, I am commanded to assure all such as persist therein that it is fully resolved and determined to concur with them and assist them as either need or occasion shall press them.

"This, my Lords, being the effect of that which I know to be my mistress's will and express commandment, given unto me to communicate unto your lordships as I saw cause, and knowing now the time most fit for that purpose, I thought good to send this same to you in writing."

In strict conformity with these promises the Earl of Bedford returned to his charge on the Border; the Earl himself was under the impression that if the Lords were in extremity he was to enter Scotland; and so satisfied and so confident was Murray that he wrote to Bedford on the 22d of July "as to one to whom God had granted to know the subtle devices of Satan," telling him that the force on which the Queen of Scots most relied lay among the Maxwells, the Humes, and the Kers of the Border, and begging him, as if he was already an auxiliary in the field, "to stay off their power."<sup>1</sup>

Randolph presented his second demand for the return of the two noblemen to England. He spoke first to Mary Stuart, who, half frightened, half defiant, found herself on the edge of a conflict to which her own resources were manifestly inadequate, while she could not but feel some uncertainty after all, how far she could rely on the secret promises of her English

<sup>1</sup> Murray to Bedford, July 22: Keith.

friends. She complained passionately that she had been trifled with; she spoke of Henry the Eighth's will, which she dared Elizabeth to produce, in obvious ignorance that had Elizabeth consented, her hopes of a peaceable succession would be gone forever. Randolph told her she was "abused." She threatened that if the English Parliament meddled with the rights either of herself or of Darnley, she would "seek friends elsewhere," and would not fail to find them.

Randolph knew Mary well and knew her manner. He saw that she was hesitating, and he once more attempted expostulation. "The Queen of England," he truly said, "had been her kindest friend. She might have compelled her to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh; but she had passed it over; she had defended her claims when the Scotch succession had not another supporter; unless she had taken the crown from off her own head and given it to her, she could have done no more than she had done."

*Randolph's  
expostulation  
with  
Mary Stuart.*

Mary appeared to be moved. She asked if nothing could induce Elizabeth to allow her marriage with Lord Darnley. Randolph replied that after the attitude which she had assumed, the conditions would be stringent. A declaration would have to be made by herself and the Scotch Parliament that she made no pretensions to the English crown during the life of Elizabeth or her children; she must restore to her Council the Protestant noblemen with whom she had quarrelled; and she must conform<sup>1</sup> to the religion established by law in Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe how the current of the Reformation had swept Elizabeth forward in spite of herself.

<sup>2</sup> "Qu'elle entretienne la religion qui est aujourd'hui au Royaulme, et en ce faisant recouvre, en sa bonne grace, et en leur premier estat ceulx qu'elle a aliéné d'elle; et qu'elle luy face declaration, autorisée par son Parlement

It was to ask Mary Stuart to sacrifice ambition, pride, revenge — every object for which she was mating herself with the paltry boy who was the cause of the disturbance. She said “she would make no merchandize of her conscience.” Randolph requested in Elizabeth’s name that she would do no injury to the Protestant lords who were her “good subjects.” She replied that Elizabeth might call them “good subjects;” she had found them bad subjects, and as such she meant to treat them.

The turn of Lennox and Darnley came next. The ambassador communicated Elizabeth’s commands to them, and demanded a distinct answer whether they would obey or not. Lennox, to whom age had taught some lessons of moderation, replied that he was sorry to offend; but that he might not and durst not go. He with some justice might plead a right to remain; for he was a born Scot and was living under his first allegiance. Darnley, like a child who has drifted from the shore in a tiny pleasure boat, his sails puffed out with vanity, and little dreaming how soon he would be gazing back on England with passionate and despairing eyes, replied “that he acknowledged no duty or obedience save to the Queen of Scots whom he served and honoured;” “and seeing,” he continued, “that the other your mistress is so envious of my good fortune, I doubt not but she may also have need of me, as you shall know within few days: wherefore to return I intend not; I find myself very well where I am, and so I purpose to keep me; and this shall be for your answer.”

“You have much forgotten your duty, sir, in such

*qu'elle ne pretend rien au Royaulme d'elle, ne de sa posterité.* — *Analyse d'une dépêche de M. de Foix au Roy, August 12: Teulet, Vol. II.*

despiteful words," Randolph answered; "it is neither discreetly spoken of you nor otherwise to be answered by me than that I trust to see the wreck and overthrow of as many as are of the same mind."

So saying the stout servant of Elizabeth turned on his heel "without reverence or farewell."<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth's attitude and Randolph's language were as menacing as possible. But experience had taught Mary Stuart that between the threats and the actions of the Queen of England there was always a period of irresolution; and that with prompt celerity she might crush the disaffection of Scotland while her more dangerous enemy was making up her mind. She filled Edinburgh with the retainers of Lennox and Huntly; she summoned Murray to appear and prove his accusations against Darnley under pain of being declared a traitor; she sent a message through De Silva to Philip that her subjects had risen in insurrection against her, with the support of the Queen of England, to force her to change her religion;<sup>2</sup> and interpreting the promise of three months' delay which she had made to Throgmorton as meaning a delay into the third month, she resolved to close one element of the controversy and place the marriage itself beyond debate. On the evening of the 28th of July, Edinburgh was informed by trumpet and proclamation that the Queen of Scots having determined to take to herself as her husband Henry Earl of Ross and Albany, the said Henry was thenceforth to be designated King of Scotland, and in all acts and deeds his name would be associated with her own.<sup>3</sup> The crowd listened in silence.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, July 21: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> De Silva to Philip, July 28: *MS. Simancas.*

<sup>3</sup> The title was a mere sound. The crown matrimonial could be conferred only by Act of Parliament; nor would Mary Stuart share the reality of her

A single voice cried "God save his Grace!" but the speaker was Lennox.

The next day, July the 29th, being Sunday, while the drowsy citizens of Edinburgh were still in their morning sleep, Mary Stuart became the wife of Darnley. The ceremony took place in the royal chapel just after sunrise. It was performed by a Catholic priest and with the usual Catholic rites; the Queen for some strange reason appearing at the altar in a mourning dress of black velvet, "such as she wore the doleful day of the burial of her husband." Whether it was an accident — whether the doom of the House of Stuart haunted her at that hour with its fatal foreshadowings — or whether simply for a great political purpose she was doing an act which in itself she loathed, it is impossible to tell; but that black drape struck the spectators with a cold, uneasy awe.

But such dreamy vanities were soon forgotten. The deed was done which Elizabeth had forbidden. It remained to be seen to what extremity Elizabeth in her resentment would be provoked. The Lords had been long waiting at Stirling for a sign from Berwick; but no sign came, and when the moment of extremity arrived Bedford had no definite orders. They remembered 1559, when they had been encouraged by similar promises to rebel, and when Elizabeth had trifled with her engagements so long and so dangerously. Elizabeth had given her word; but it was an imperfect security; and the uncertainty produced its inevitable effect in disheartening and dividing them. "Though your intent be never so good to us," Ran-

power with a raw boy whose character she imperfectly knew. But Darnley was impatient for the name of king; "He would in no case have it deferred a day," and the Queen was contented to humour him.

dolph wrote to Leicester on the 31st of July, "yet we fear your delay that our ruin shall prevent your support; when council is once taken nothing is so needful as speedy execution: upon this we wholly depend; in her Majesty's hands it standeth to save our lives or suffer us to perish; greater honour her Majesty cannot have than that which lieth in her power to do for us."<sup>1</sup>

Randolph  
calls on Elizabeth  
to  
keep her  
promise.

While the Congregation were thus held in suspense, Mary Stuart was all fire, energy, and resolution. She understood at once that Elizabeth was hesitating; she knew that she had little to fear from Argyle and Murray until they were supported in force from England; and leaving no time for faction to disintegrate her own supporters, or for the Queen of England to make up her mind, she sent letters to the noblemen on whom she could rely, desiring them to meet her in arms at Edinburgh on the 9th of August.

Elizabeth, as post after post came in from Scotland, lost her breath at the rapidity of the Queen of Scots' movements; and resolution became more impossible as the need of it became more pressing. On receiving the news that the marriage was actually completed, she despatched Tamworth, a gentleman of the bedchamber, to assure the Queen of Scots that whatever might be pretended to the contrary she had throughout been sincerely anxious to support her interests. The Queen of Scots had not given her the credit which she deserved, and was now "imagining something else in England to content her fancy, as vain persons sometimes would." Leaving much to Tamworth's discretion, she bade him nevertheless let the Queen of Scots see that her present in-

Mission of  
Tamworth.

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Elizabeth*, Vol. I.



tentions were thoroughly understood. "She was following the advice of those who were labouring to extirpate out of Scotland the religion received there;" the Protestants among her own subjects were to be destroyed "to gain the favour of the Papists in England;" "so as with the aid that they would hope to have of some prince abroad, and from Rome also upon pretence of reformation in religion, she might when she should see time attempt the same that she did when she was married to France." It was not for Elizabeth to say what might happen in Scotland; "but for any other device that the Queen of Scots might be fed withal, she might be assured before God she would find all designs, consultations, intelligences, and advices, from wherever they might come to her, far or near, to be vain and deceitful." Let her relinquish these idle imaginings, let her restore Murray to the Council and undertake to enter into no foreign alliance prejudicial to English interests, and she might yet regain the confidence of her true friends.

Had Tamworth's instructions gone no further they would have been useless without being mischievous; August.  
Weakness of  
Elizabeth. but a further message betrayed the fatal irresolution to which Elizabeth was yielding. A fortnight previously she had required the Queen of Scots to abandon her own creed; she now condescended to entreat that if her other requests were rejected the Scotch Protestants might at least be permitted to use their own religion without molestation.<sup>1</sup> She might have frightened Mary by a demonstration of force as prompt as her own. To show that she saw through her schemes, yet at the same time that she dared not venture beyond a feeble and hesitating protest, could but

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Tamworth, August 1: *MS. Rolls House.*

make the Queen of Scots desperate of further concealment, and encourage her to go forward more fearlessly than ever.

"Mary Stuart," when Tamworth came into her presence, "gave him words that bit to the quick." To the Queen of England's suspicions she said she would reply with her "own lawful demands." "The Queen of England spoke of imaginations and fancies;" "she was sorry her good sister thought so disdainfully of her as she would meddle with simple devices. If things went so that she was driven to extremities and practices, she would make it appear to the world that her devices were not to be set at so small a price." Playing on Elizabeth's words with a straightforward but irritating irony, she said "that by God's grace it should appear to the world that her designs, consultations, and intelligences would prove as substantial and no more vain and deceitful than such as her neighbours themselves had at any time taken in hand;" while, as to Murray's restoration, she had never yet meddled between the Queen of England and her subjects; but now, "induced by her good sister's example," "she would request most earnestly for the release and restoration to favour" of her mother-in-law, the Lady Margaret, Countess of Lennox.<sup>1</sup>

Had Philip of Spain been at Mary's shoulder, he would have advised her to spare her sarcasms till an armada was in the Channel or till Elizabeth was a prisoner at her feet. As soon as she had made sure of Darnley, he would have recommended her to omit no efforts for conciliation. She need not have relinquished one emotion of hatred or one aspiration for revenge; but she would have been taught to wait upon

<sup>1</sup> Answer of the Queen of Scots to Tamworth: Printed in Keith.

time to soothe down the irritation which she had roused, to cajole with promises, and to compel Elizabeth by the steady if slow pressure of circumstances to give way step by step.

But Mary Stuart was young and was a woman. Her tongue was ready and her passions strong. Philip cared sincerely for Romanism, Elizabeth cared for English liberty, the Earl of Murray cared for the doctrines of the Reformation; Mary Stuart was chiefly interested in herself, and she was without the strength of self-command which is taught only by devotion to a cause. So confident was she that in imagination she had already seated herself on Elizabeth's throne. To the conditions of friendship offered by Tamworth she replied in language which could scarcely have been more peremptory had she entered London at the head of a victorious army. Not condescending to notice

what was demanded of herself, she required Elizabeth immediately to declare her by Act of Parliament next in the succession; and failing herself and her children, to entail the Crown on Lady Margaret Lennox and her children, "as the persons by the law of God and nature next inheritable." The Queen of England should bind herself "neither to do nor suffer to be done either by law or otherwise" anything prejudicial to the Scottish title; to abstain in future from all practices with subjects of the Scottish Crown; to enter no league and contract no alliance which could affect the Queen of Scots' fortunes unfavourably. On these terms, but on these alone, she would consent to leave Elizabeth in undisturbed possession during her own or her children's lifetime; she would abstain from encouraging the English Catholics to rise in rebellion in her behalf, and from

Conditions  
demanded by  
the Queen of  
Scots.

inviting an invasion from Spain or France;<sup>1</sup> and she condescended to promise — to throw dust in the eyes of the Protestants in both countries — although she was receiving the support of the Pope and seeking the support of the King of Spain in the sole interests of Romanism — that in the event of herself and her husband succeeding to the throne of England, the religion established there by law should not be interfered with.

An answer every sentence of which must have stung Elizabeth like a whip-lash, might have for the moment satisfied Mary Stuart's passion; but her hatred of her sister of England was passing into contempt, and she believed she might trample upon her with impunity.

Tamworth, having received his message, desired to return with it to England. He applied for a passport, which was given him signed by Darnley as King of Scotland; and Elizabeth had forbidden him to recognize Darnley in any capacity but that of the Queen's husband. He desired that the wording might be changed: his request was refused. He requested that a guard might escort him to the Border: it could not be granted. He set out without attendance and without a safe-conduct: he was arrested and carried prisoner to Hume Castle.

The Lords at Stirling had been already so perplexed by Elizabeth's timidity that they had broken up and dispersed. Argyle and Murray retired to the western Highlands, and sent an earnest message that unless they could be immediately relieved they would be overthrown.<sup>2</sup> The arrest of Tamworth added to their dismay. Yet in spite of past experience they could

<sup>1</sup> Offer of the King and Queen of Scotland, by Mr. Tamworth, August, 1565: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Tamworth to Cecil and Leicester, August 10: *MS. Ibid.*

not believe Elizabeth capable of breaking promises so emphatically and so repeatedly made to them. They wrote through Randolph that they were still at the Queen of England's devotion. They would hold out as long as their strength lasted; but it was already tasked to the uttermost, and if left to themselves they would have to yield to superior force.

The catastrophe came quicker than they anticipated. The friends of the Congregation were invited by circulars to meet at Ayr on the 24th of August. On the 25th the Queen of Scots — after a tempestuous interview with Randolph, who had demanded Tamworth's

Mary Stuart  
takes the  
field.

release — mounted her horse and rode out of Edinburgh at the head of 5000 men to meet her enemies in the field. Darnley, in gilt armour, was at her side. She herself carried pistols in hand and pistols at her saddlebow. Her one peculiar hope was to encounter and destroy her brother, against whom, above and beyond his political opposition, she bore an especial and unexplained animosity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "I never heard more outrageous words than she spoke against my Lord of Murray. She said she would rather lose her crown than not be revenged upon him. She has some further cause of quarrel with him than she cares to avow." — Randolph to Cecil, August 27: *MS. Rolls House*. Shortly after, Randolph imagined that he had discovered the "further cause." "The hatred conceived against my Lord of Murray is neither for his religion nor yet for that she now speaketh — that he would take the crown from her, as she said lately to myself — but that she knoweth that he knoweth some such secret fact, not to be named for reverence sake, that standeth not with her honour, which he so much detesteth, being her brother, that neither can he show himself as he hath done, nor she think of him but as of one whom she mortally hateth. Here is the mischief, this is the grief; and how this may be solved and repaired it passeth man's wit to consider. This reverence, for all that he hath to his sovereign, that I am sure there are very few that know this grief; and to have this obloquy and reproach of her removed, I believe he would quit his country for all the days of his life." — Randolph to Cecil, October 13: *MS. Ibid.*

The mystery alluded to was apparently the intimacy of Mary Stuart with Rizzio, which was already so close and confidential as to provoke calumny.

With the money sent her from abroad she had contrived to raise six hundred "harquebussmen," whom the half-armed retainers of the Lords could not hope to engage successfully. Passing Linlithgow and Stirling she swept swiftly round to Glasgow, and cut off the retreat of the Protestants into the western hills. A fight was looked for at Hamilton, where "a hundred gentlemen of her party determined to set on Murray in the battle, and either slay him or tarry behind lifeless."<sup>1</sup>

Outnumbered — for they had in all but 1300 horse — and outmanœuvred by the rapid movements of the Queen, the Protestants fell back on Edinburgh, where they expected the citizens to declare for them. On the last of August, six days after Mary Stuart had left Holyrood, Chatelherault, Murray, Glencairn, Rother, Boyd, Kirkaldy, and a few more gentlemen, rode with their servants into the West Port, and sending a courier to Berwick with a pressing en-  
September.  
The Lords in  
Edinburgh.  
 treaty for help, they prepared to defend themselves. But the Calvinist shopkeepers who could be so brave against a miserable priest, had no stomach for a fight with armed men. The Queen was coming fast behind them like an avenging fury; and Erskine, who was

In the face of Randolph's language it is difficult to say for certain that Mary Stuart had never transgressed the permitted limits of propriety; yet it is more likely that a person so careless of the opinions of others, and so warm and true in her friendships, should have laid herself open to remark through some indiscretion, than that she should have seriously compromised her character. It seems certain that Murray intended to have hanged Ritzio. Paul de Foix asked Elizabeth for an explanation of the Queen of Scots' animosity against her brother: —

"Elle s'estant ung peu teue, et secoué sa teste, me respondit que c'estoit pour ce que la Roynne d'Escosse avoit esté informé que le Comte de Murray avoit voullu pendre ung Italien nommé David qu'elle aymeroit et favorisoit, luy donnant plus de credit que ses affaires et honneur ne devoient." — *Paul de Foix au Roy: Teulet, Vol. II.*

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, September 4: *MS. Rolls House.*

inclining to the royal side, began to fire on the Lords from the castle. "In the town they could find neither help nor support from any one;" and the terrified inhabitants could only entreat and even insist that they should depart. A fortnight before, a little money and a few distinct words from England would have sufficed to save them. Mary Stuart's courage and Elizabeth's remissness had by this time so strengthened the party of the Queen that "little good could now be done without greater support than could be in readiness in any short time." The Lords could only retire towards the Border and wait Elizabeth's pleasure. "What was promised," Randolph passionately wrote to Cecil, "your honour knoweth. Oh that her Majesty's mind was known! If the Earl of Bedford have only commission to act in this matter, both Queens may be in one country before long. In the whole world if there be a more malicious heart towards the Queen my sovereign than hers that here now reigneth, let me be hanged at my home-coming or counted a villain forever."<sup>1</sup>

Randolph  
prays Eliza-  
beth to  
declare her-  
self.

Mary meanwhile had reëntered Edinburgh, breathing nothing but anger and defiance. Argyle was in his own Highlands wasting the adjoining lands of Athol and Lennox; but she scarcely noticed or cared for Argyle. The affection of a sister for a brother was curdled into a hatred the more malignant because it was unnatural. Her whole passion was concentrated on Murray, and after Murray on Elizabeth.

The day before she had left Holyrood for the west an Englishman named Yaxlee had arrived there from Flanders. This person, who has been already mentioned as in the service of Lady Lennox, had been em-

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, September 4: *M.S. Rolle House*,

ployed by her as the special agent of her correspondence with the continental courts: Lady Lennox being now in the Tower, Yaxlee followed the fortunes of her son, and came to Scotland to place himself at the disposal of Mary Stuart. He was a conspirator of the kind most dangerous to his employers, vain, loud, and confident, fond of boasting of his acquaintance with kings and princes, and "promising to bring to a good end whatsoever should be committed to him." "The wiser sort" soon understood and avoided him. The Queen of Scots, however, allowed herself to be persuaded by her husband, and placed herself in Yaxlee's power. She told him all her schemes at home and all the promises which had been made to her abroad. The Bishop of Dunblane at Rome had requested the Pope to lend her twelve thousand men, and the Pope was waiting only for Philip's sanction and coöperation to send them.<sup>1</sup> She selected Yaxlee to go on a mission to Spain to explain her position, and to "remit her claims, prospects, and the manner of the prosecution thereof" to Philip's judgment and direction.

Yaxlee is  
sent to  
Spain.

Vain of the trust reposed in him the foolish creature was unable to keep his counsel. His babbling tongue revealed all that he knew and all that he was commissioned to do; and the report of it was soon in Cecil's hands.<sup>2</sup>

Philip would no doubt be unwilling to move.

<sup>1</sup> Capitulo de Cartas del Cardinal Pacheco á su Mag<sup>d</sup>, 2 September, 1565: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> "Memoir of the proceedings of Francis Yaxlee," in Cecil's handwriting: *Cotton MSS. Calig. B. 10*. The name of the person is left blank in Cecil's manuscript, but a French translation of the memoir was found in Paris by M. Teulot, and on the margin is written, "Celluy qui est laissé en blanc c'est Yaxlee."



Philip, like Elizabeth, was fond of encouraging others to run into difficulties by promises which he repudiated if they were inconvenient; and in this particular instance Mary Stuart had gone beyond his advice, and had placed herself in a position against which the Duke of Alba had pointedly warned her. But the fears of the Spaniards for the safety of the Low Countries were every day increasing; they regarded England as the fountain from which the heresies of the continent were fed; and they looked to the recovery of it to the Church as the only means of restoring order in their own provinces.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth was perfectly aware of the dangers which were thickening round her, and the effect was to end her uncertainty and to determine her to shake herself clear from the failing fortunes of the noblemen whom she had invited to rebel. They had halted at Dumfries, close to the Border, where Murray, thinking that "nothing worse could happen than an agreement while the Queen of Scots had the upper hand and they without a force in the field," was with difficulty keeping together the remnant of his party.<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Bedford, weary of waiting for instructions which never came, wrote at last half in earnest and half in irony to Elizabeth, to propose that she should play over again the part which she had played with Winter; he would himself enter Scotland with the Berwick garrison, and "her Majesty could afterwards seem to blame him for attempting such things as with the help of others he

<sup>1</sup> "Esta materia de Escocia y de aqui es de tanta importancia como se puede considerar; porque si este Reyno se reduxiese, parece que se quitará la fuente de los hereges de Flanders y de Francia, y aun las inteligencias de Alemania, que, como aqui, hay necesidad destas malas ayudas para sostenerse." — De Silva to Philip, August 20: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Murray to Randolph, September 8: *MS. Rolls House*.

could bring about.”<sup>1</sup> But Elizabeth was too much frightened to consent even to a vicarious fulfilment of her promises. She replied that if the Lords were in danger of being taken, the Earl might cover their retreat into England; she sent him three thousand pounds which if he pleased he might place in their hands; but he must give them to understand precisely that both the one and the other were his own acts, for which she would accept neither thanks nor responsibility. “You shall make them perceive your case to be such,” she said, “as if it should appear otherwise your danger should be so great as all the friends you have could not be able to save you towards us.”<sup>2</sup>

*Elizabeth determines to abandon Murray.*

At times she seemed to struggle with her ignominy, but it was only to flounder deeper into distraction and dishonour. Once she sent for the French ambassador: she told him that the Earl of Murray and his friends were in danger for her sake and through her means; the Queen of Scots was threatening their lives; and she swore she would aid them with all the means which God had given, and she would have all men know her determination. But the next moment, as if afraid of what she had said, she stooped to a deliberate lie. De Foix had heard of the 3000*l.*, and had ascertained beyond doubt that it had been sent from the Treasury; yet when he questioned Elizabeth about it she took refuge behind Bedford, and swore she had sent no money to the Lords at all.<sup>3</sup>

“It fears me not a little,” wrote Murray on the 21st, “that these secret and covered pretendings of

<sup>1</sup> Bedford to Elizabeth: *MS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth to Bedford, September 12: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>3</sup> De Foix to the Queen-mother, September 18: Teulet, Vol. II.

the Queen's Majesty there, as matters now stand, shall never put this cause to such end as we both wish, but open declaration would apparently bring with it no doubt."<sup>1</sup> "If her Majesty will openly declare herself," said Bedford, "uncertain hearts will be determined again and all will go well."<sup>2</sup>

Paul de Foix himself, notwithstanding his knowledge of Elizabeth, was unable to believe that she would persevere in a course so discreditable and so dangerous. So easy it would be for her to strike Mary Stuart down, if she had half the promptitude of Mary herself, that it seemed impossible to him that she would neglect the opportunity. As yet the party of the Queen of Scots had no solid elements of strength: Ritzio was the chief councillor; the Earl of Athol was the general — "a youth without judgment or experience, whose only merit was a frenzied Catholicism."<sup>3</sup> Catherine de Medici, who thought like De Foix, and desired to prevent Elizabeth from becoming absolute mistress of Scotland, sent over Castelnau de Mauvisière to mediate between the Queen of Scots and her subjects. But Mary Stuart understood better the temperament with which she had to deal; she knew that Elizabeth was thoroughly cowed and frightened, and that she had nothing to fear. She sent a message to Castelnau that she would allow neither France nor England to interfere between her and her revolted subjects; while her rival could only betake herself to her single resource in difficulty, and propose again to marry the Archduke.

The Arch-  
duke once  
more.

There was something piteous as well as laughable in

<sup>1</sup> Murray to Bedford, September 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Bedford to Cecil: *M.S. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> De Foix to the Queen-mother, September 18: Teulet, Vol. II.

the perpetual recurrence of this forlorn subject. She was not wholly insincere. When pushed to extremity she believed that marriage might become her duty, and she imagined that she was willing to encounter it. The game was a dangerous one, for she had almost exhausted the patience of her subjects, who might compel her at last to fulfil in earnest the hopes which she had excited. It would have come to an end long before had it not been that Philip, who was irresolute as herself, allowed his wishes for the marriage to delude him into believing Elizabeth serious whenever it was mentioned; while the desirableness of the Austrian alliance in itself, and the extreme anxiety for it among English statesmen, kept alive the jealous fears of the French. To De Silva the Queen appeared a vain, capricious woman, whose pleasure it was to see the princes of Europe successively at her feet; yet he too had expected that if her Scotch policy failed she would take the Archduke in earnest at last, and thus the value of the move was not yet wholly played away, and she could use his name once more to hold her friends and her party together.

As a matter of course when the Archduke was talked of on one side the French had their candidate on the other; and Charles the Ninth being no longer in question, Paul de Foix threw his interest on the side of Leicester. While the Queen of Scots was displaying the spirit of a sovereign and accomplishing with uncommon skill the first steps of the Catholic revolution, Elizabeth was amusing herself once more with balancing the attractions of her lover and the Austrian prince: not indeed that she any longer wished to marry even the favoured Lord Robert; "If she ever took a husband," she said to De Foix, "she would give him neither a

share of her power nor the keys of her treasury ; her subjects wanted a successor, and she would use the husband's services to obtain such a thing ; but under any aspect the thought of marriage was odious to her, and when she tried to make up her mind it was as if her heart was being torn out of her body."<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth's  
private feel-  
ings on her  
marriage.

Yet Leicester was fooled by the French into a brief hope of success. He tried to interest Cecil in his cause by assuring him that the Queen would marry no one but himself ; and Cecil mocked him with a courteous answer, and left on record in a second table of contrasts with the Archduke his own intense conviction of Leicester's worthlessness.<sup>2</sup>

A ludicrous court calamity increased the troubles of the Queen and with them her unwillingness to declare war against the Queen of Scots. The three daughters of the Duke of Suffolk had been placed one after the other in the line of succession by Henry the Eighth. Lady Jane was dead ; Lady Catherine was dying from the effects of her long and cruel imprisonment ; the third, Lady Mary, had remained at the Court, and one evening in August, when the Scotch plot was thickening, got herself married in the palace itself, "by an old fat priest in a short gown," to Thomas Keys, the sergeant porter.<sup>3</sup> Lady

Lady Mary  
Grey and  
the sergeant  
porter.

<sup>1</sup> She said she was resolved — "Ne departir jamais à celuy qui seroit son mary ni de ses biens ni forces ni moyens, ne voulant s'ayder de luy que pour laisser successeur d'elle à ses subjectz ; mais quand elle pensoit de ce faire, il luy sembloit que l'on luy arrachast le cœur du ventre ; tant elle en estoit de son naturel eslonguée." — Paul de Foix to the Queen-mother August 22: Teulet, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> "De Matrimonio Reginae Angliæ." Reasons against the Earl of Leicester: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> This marriage was before mentioned by me as having taken place at the same time with that of Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley. I was misled by Dugdale.

Mary was "the smallest woman in the Court," Keys was the largest man, and that seemed to have been the chief bond of connexion between them. The lady was perhaps anxious for a husband and knew that Elizabeth would keep her single till she died. Discovery followed before worse had happened than the ceremony. The burly sergeant porter was sent to the Fleet to grow thin on discipline and low diet; the Lady Mary went into private confinement; and both were only too eager to release each other and escape from punishment. The bishops were set to work by the Council to undo the knot, and found it no easy matter.<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth had a fresh excuse for her detestation of the Greys and a fresh topic on which to descant in illustration of the iniquities of matrimony.

De Mauvissière, meanwhile, undeterred by the Queen of Scots' message, had made his way to Edinburgh, but only to find that he had come upon a useless errand. The Earl of Bothwell had rejoined Mary Stuart in the middle of her triumph, "a man," said Randolph, "fit to be made a minister of any shameful act against God or man;"<sup>2</sup> and Bothwell's hatred for Murray drew him closer than ever to Mary's side. In the full confidence of success, and surrounded by persons whose whole aim was to feed the fire of her passion, she would listen to nothing which De Mauvissière could urge. In vain he warned her of the experience of France; in vain he reminded her of the siege of Leith and of the madness of risking a quarrel with her powerful and dangerous neighbour. "Scotland," she said, 'should not be turned into a republic; she would

<sup>1</sup> *Privy Council Register*, August, 1565. Proceedings of Council on the marriage of the Lady Mary Grey: *MS. Domestic, Eliz., Rolls House* Bishop of London to Cecil: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, September 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

sooner lose her crown than wear it at the pleasure of her revolted subjects and the Queen of England; instead of advising her to make peace, Catherine de Medici should have stepped forward to her side and assisted her to avenge the joint wrongs of France and Scotland; if France failed her in her extremity, grieved as she might be to leave her old allies, she would take the hand which was offered her by Spain; she would submit to England — never.”<sup>1</sup>

From the moment when she had first taken the field, she had given her enemies no rest; she had swept Fife, the hotbed of the Protestants, as far as St. Andrew's. The old Laird of Lundy — he who had called the mass the mickle deil — was flung into prison, and his friends and his family had to fly for their lives. At the end of September she was pausing to recover breath at Holyrood before she made her last swoop upon the party at Dumfries. The Edinburgh merchants found her money, her soldiers with lighted matchlocks assisting them to unloose their purse strings. With October she would march to the Border, and in her unguarded moments she boasted that she would take her next rest at the gates of London.<sup>2</sup>

It was now necessary for Elizabeth to come to some resolution which she could avow — either to interfere at once or distinctly to declare that she did not mean to interfere. Cecil, according to his usual habit, reviewed the situation and drew out in form its leading features. The two interests at stake were religion and the succession to the Crown. For religion “it was doubtful how to meddle in another prince's controversy:” “so far as politic laws were

<sup>1</sup> Castelnau de Mauvissière to Paul de Foix, September: Teulet, Vol. II.  
<sup>2</sup> Paul de Foix to the King of France, September 29: Ibid.

devised for the maintenance of the Gospel Christian men might defend it," "yet the best service which men could render to the truth was to serve God faithfully and procure by good living the defence thereof at His Almighty hand." The succession was at once more critical and more impossible to leave untouched. The Queen of Scots appeared to intend to exact her recognition as "second person" at the point of the sword. The unwillingness of the Queen of England to marry had unsettled the minds of her subjects, who "beholding the state of the crown to depend only on the breath of one person" were becoming restless and uneasy; and there were symptoms on all sides which pointed "towards a civil quarrel in the realm." The best remedy would be the fulfilment of the hopes which had been so long held out to the nation. If the Queen would marry all danger would at once be at an end. If she could not bring herself to accept that alternative, she might make the intrigues of the Scottish Queen with her Catholic subjects, the practising with Rome, the language of Darnley to Randolph, and the continued refusal to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, a ground for declaring war.<sup>1</sup>

Every member of the Council was summoned to London. The suspected Earls of Cumber-  
land, Westmoreland, and Northumberland

The Council  
assembled in  
London.

were invited to the Court, to remove them from the Border where they would perhaps be dangerous; and day after day the advisers of the Crown sat in earnest and inconclusive deliberation. A lucid statement was drawn up of Mary Stuart's proceedings from the day of Elizabeth's accession; every aggressive act on her part, every conciliatory movement of the Queen of

<sup>1</sup> Note in Cecil's hand, September, 1565: *M.S. Rolls House.*



England were laid out in careful detail to assist the Council in forming a judgment; the history was brought down to the latest moment, and one only important matter seems to have been withheld — the unfortunate promises which Elizabeth had made to the Earl of Murray and his friends at a time when she believed that a demonstration in Scotland would be sufficient to frighten Mary Stuart, and that she would never be called on to fulfil them.

In favour of sending assistance to the Protestant noblemen it was urged that the Queen of Scots notoriously intended to overthrow the reformed religion and to make her way to the English throne; the title of the Queen of England depended on the Reformation; if the Pope's authority was restored she would no longer be regarded as legitimate. To sit still in the face of the attitude which the Queen of Scots had assumed was to encourage her to continue her practices; and it was more prudent to encounter an enemy when it could be done at small cost and in her own country than to wait to be overtaken at home by war and rebellion which would be a thousand times more dangerous and costly.

On the other hand, to defend the insurgent subjects of a neighbouring sovereign was a dangerous precedent. If Elizabeth was justified in maintaining the Scotch Protestants, the King of Spain might claim as fair a right to interfere in behalf of the English Catholics. The form which a war would assume and the contingencies which might arise from it could not be foreseen, while the peril and expense were immediate and certain.

The arguments on both sides were so evenly balanced that it was difficult to choose between them. The Council however, could it be proved that the

Queen of Scots was in communication with the Pope to further her designs on England, were ready to consider that "a great matter." The name of the Pope was detested in England by men who believed themselves to hold every shred of Catholic doctrine; the creed was an opinion; the Pope was a political and most troublesome fact with which under no circumstances were moderate English gentlemen inclined to have any more dealings. The Pope turned the scale; and the Council, after some ineffectual attempts to find a middle course, resolved on immediately confiscating the estates of the Earl of Lennox; while they recommended the Queen to demand the rati-  
The Council at first recommended war.  
 fication of the Treaty of Edinburgh, to send a fleet into the Forth, and to despatch a few thousand men to Berwick to be at the disposal of the Earl of Bedford.<sup>1</sup>

Had these steps been taken either Mary Stuart must have yielded, or there would have been an immediate war. But the Council, though consenting and advising a decided course, were still divided: Norfolk, Arundel, Winchester, Mason, and Pembroke were in favour in the main of the Queen of Scots' succession, and they regarded Calvinists and Calvinism with a most heartfelt and genuine detestation. Elizabeth in her heart resented the necessity of identifying herself with the party of John Knox, and her mood varied from day to day. After the resolution of the Council on the 24th, she spoke at length to the French ambassador in praise of Murray, who if his sister could but have known it, she said, was her truest friend—a noble, generous, and good man; she was fully aware

<sup>1</sup> Notes of the Proceedings in Council at Westminster, September 24.  
 In Cecil's hand: *Cotton MSS., Calig. P. 10. Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*  
 VOL. VIII. 14

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<sup>1</sup> Notes of the Proceedings in Council at Westminster, September 24. In Cecil's hand: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10. Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

of the Queen of Scots' designs against her; and when De Foix entreated her not to break the peace she refused to give him any assurances, and she told him that if France assisted Mary Stuart she should receive it as an act of hostility against herself.<sup>1</sup>

But her energy spent itself in words, or rather both the Queen and those advisers whom she most trusted, even Sir William Cecil himself, oscillated backwards into a decision that the risk of war was too great to be encountered. The example might be fatal: the Catholic powers might interfere in England; the Romanists at home might mutiny; while to move an army was "three times more chargeable than it was wont to be, whereof the experience at Havre might serve for example."<sup>2</sup> Two days after their first resolution, therefore, the Council assembled again, when Cecil informed them "that he found a lack of disposition in the Queen's Majesty to allow of war or of the charges thereof;" she would break her word to the Lords whom she had encouraged into insurrection; but it was better than to run the risk of a conflagration which might wrap all England in its flames. The idea of forcible interference was finally abandoned. De Mauvissière remained at Edinburgh sincerely endeavouring to keep Mary within bounds; and Cecil himself wrote a private letter of advice to her which he sent by the hands of a Captain Cockburn. There were reasons for supposing that her violence might have begun to cool. Darnley had desired that the command of the army might be given to his father; the Queen of Scots

October.  
The English  
government  
decides  
finally not to  
interfere.

<sup>1</sup> Paul de Foix to the King of France, September 29: Teulet, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> "Causes that move me not to consent presently to war, September 26. Note in Cecil's hand: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

had insisted on bestowing it upon Bothwell,<sup>1</sup> who had won her favour by promising to bring in Murray dead or alive ;<sup>2</sup> and Lennox was holding off from the Court in jealous discontent.

Cockburn, on his arrival at Holyrood, placed himself in communication with De Mauvissière. They waited on Mary together ; and expatiating on the ruinous effect of the religious wars of the Guises which had filled France with rage and hatred, they entreated her for her own sake to beware of the miserable example. The French ambassador told her that if she looked for aid from abroad she was deceiving herself ; France would not help her and would not permit the interference of Spain ; so that she would bring herself " to a hard end." Cockburn " spoke his mind freely to her to the same effect," and " told her she was in great danger."<sup>3</sup>

Mary Stuart " wept wondrous sore ;" but construing Elizabeth's unwillingness to declare war into an admission of her own strength, she was deaf to advice as she had been to menace. She disbelieved De Mauvissière, and trusted soon to hear from Yaxlee that the Spanish fleet was on its way to the English Channel ; at least she would not lose the chance of revenge upon her brother : " she said she could have no peace till she had Murray's or Chatelherault's head."<sup>4</sup>

A few hundred men from Berwick would probably have ended her power of so gratifying herself ; yet on the other hand it might have been a spark to explode

<sup>1</sup> Randolph, speaking of Mary Stuart's relation with Bothwell at this time, says — " I have heard a thing most strange, whereof I will not make mention till I have better assurance than now I have." — Randolph to Cecil, October 13: *MS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Cockburn to Cecil, October 2: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Randolph to Cecil, October 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

an insurrection in England; and Elizabeth preferred to hold aloof with her arm half raised — wishing yet fearing to strike — and waiting for some act of direct hostility against herself. As far as the peace of her own country was concerned her policy was no doubt a prudent one; but it was pursued at the expense of her honour; it ruined for the time her party in Scotland; and it was an occasion of fresh injury to the fugitives at Dumfries.

As soon as Murray with his few dispirited friends had reached the Border he despatched Sir Robert Melville to London to explain his situation and to request in form the assistance which had been promised him. Elizabeth assured Melville that she was sorry for their condition. She bade him return and tell Murray that she would do her very best for himself and his cause; but she could not support him by arms without declaring war against the Queen of Scots, and she could not declare war “without just cause.” If the Queen of Scots therefore were to offer him “any tolerable conditions” she would not have him refuse; “if on the other hand the indignation of the Queen was so cruelly intended as he and his companions could obtain no end with preservation of their lives, her Majesty, both for her private love towards those that were noblemen, and of her princely honour and clemency towards such as were tyrannically persecuted, would receive them into her protection, save their persons and their lives from ruin, and so far would give them aid and succour;” she would send a commissioner to Scotland to intercede with the Queen, “and with him also an army to be used as her Majesty should see just occasion given to her.”<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth  
again mis-  
leads the  
Lords.

<sup>1</sup> Answer to Robert Melville, October 1: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

The Lords had become "desperate of hope and as men dismayed;" they had repented bitterly of "having trusted so much to England:"<sup>1</sup> Chatelherault, Glencairn, Kirkaldy — all in fact save Murray — desired to make terms with Mary, and were feeling their way towards recovering her favour at the expense of the Queen of England, whom they accused of betraying them. When Melville returned with Elizabeth's answer it was interpreted into a fresh promise of interference in their behalf, not only by the Lords, whom anxiety might have made sanguine, but by the bearer of the message to whom Elizabeth had herself spoken. They immediately recovered their courage, broke off their communications with the Queen of Scots, and prepared to continue their resistance.

Elizabeth would have done better if she had spoken less ambiguously. Mary Stuart, who had paused to ascertain what they would do, set out at once for the Border with Athol, Bothwell, and a motley force of 18,000 men. She rode in person at their head in steel bonnet and corselet, "with a dagg at her saddle-bow,"<sup>2</sup> declaring that "all who held intercourse with England should be treated as enemies to the realm;" while Darnley boasted that he was about "to be made the greatest that ever reigned in the isle of Britain."<sup>3</sup> Ritzio was still the presiding spirit in Mary's council chamber. "You may think," wrote Randolph, "what the matter meaneth that a stranger and a varlet should have the whole guiding of the Queen and country."<sup>4</sup> The army was but a confused crowd: of loyal friends

<sup>1</sup> Bedford to Cecil, October 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, October 13: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Randolph to Leicester, October 18: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *MS. Ibid.*



the Queen could really count on none but Bothwell, young Athol, and perhaps Huntly; "the rest were as like to turn against her as stand by her." She perhaps trusted to some demonstration from Berwick to kindle them into enthusiasm through their patriotism; but Elizabeth disappointed equally both her enemies and her friends; she would give no excuse to the Queen of Scots to complain that England had broken the peace. The "few hundreds" with whose assistance the Lords undertook to drive their sovereign back to Edinburgh were not forthcoming; the army more than half promised to Melville was a mere illusion; and Bedford was confined by his orders to Carlisle, where he was allowed only to receive Murray and his party

Murray and  
his friends  
fly to  
England.

as fugitives: they had now therefore no resource except to retreat into England; the Queen of Scots, following in hot pursuit, glared across the frontier at her escaping prey, half tempted to follow them and annihilate the petty guard of the English commander:<sup>1</sup> but prudence for once prevailed; she halted and drew back.

So ended the insurrection which had been undertaken at Elizabeth's instigation and mainly in Elizabeth's interests. Having failed to prevent the catastrophe, she would gladly now have heard no more of it; but she was not to escape so easily. Even among her own subjects there were some who dared to speak unpalatable truths to her. Bedford, who had been sent to the north with an army which he believed that he was

Bedford re-  
monstrates.

to lead to Edinburgh, wrote in plain, stern terms to the Queen herself "that the lords,

<sup>1</sup> "A few hundred men would have kept all right. I fear they will break with us from words which she has used, and we are all unprovided." — Bedford to Cecil, October 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

in reliance upon her Majesty's promise, had stood out against their sovereign, and now knew not what to do ;"<sup>1</sup> while to Cecil, not knowing how deeply Cecil was responsible for the Queen's conduct, he wrote in serious sorrow. In a previous letter he had spoken of "the Lords of the Congregation," and Elizabeth had taken offence at a term which savoured of too advanced a Protestantism.

"The poor noblemen," he now said, "rest so amazed and in so great perplexity they knew not what to say, do, or imagine. My terming them Lords of the Congregation was but used by me because I saw it received by others ; for that it is not plausible I shall omit it henceforth, wishing from my heart the cause was plausibly received, and then for terms and names it should be no matter. The Earl of Murray I find constant and honourable, though otherwise sore perplexed, poor gentleman, the more the pity. As her Majesty means peace we must use the necessary means to maintain peace ; albeit I know that the Queen useth against the Queen's Majesty our sovereign all such reproachful and despiteful words as she can ; besides her practices with foreign realms, which her Majesty's father I am sure would have thought much of. Yet as her Majesty winketh at the same, I must know what I am to do, whether in dealing with the wardens on the Border I am to recognize commissions signed by the Lord Darnley as King of Scotland."<sup>2</sup>

Randolph, ashamed and indignant at the deception of which he and Throgmorton had been the instru-

<sup>1</sup> Bedford to the Queen, October 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Bedford to Cecil, October 13 and October 26: *MS. Ibid.*

ments, insisted "that the Queen of Scots meant evil and nothing but evil," and that however long she was borne with she would have to be brought to reason by force at last. "You, my lord," he wrote Randolph appeals to Leicester. anxiously to Leicester, "do all you can to move her Majesty; it is looked for at your hand, and all worthy and godly men of this nation shall love and honour you forever; let it be handled so that this Queen may know how she has been misguided and ill-advised to take so much upon her — not only against these noblemen, but far above that if she had power to her will."<sup>1</sup>

But it was from Murray himself that Elizabeth had to encounter the most inconvenient remonstrances. To save England from a Catholic revolution, and to save England's Queen from the machinations of a dangerous rival, the Earl of Murray had taken arms against his sovereign, and he found himself a fugitive and an outlaw, while the sacred cause of the Reformation in his own country had been compromised by his fall. His life was safe, but Mary Stuart, having failed to take or kill him, was avenging herself on his wife; and the first news which he heard after reaching England was that Lady Murray had been driven from her home, and, within a few weeks of her confinement, was wandering shelterless in the woods. Submission and soft speeches would have been his more prudent part, but Murray, a noble gentleman of stainless honour, was not a person to sit down patiently as the dupe of timidity or fraud.

He wrote shortly to the English Council, to say that in reliance on the message brought him by Sir Robert Melville he had encouraged his friends to persevere in

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Leicester, October 18: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

resistance at a time when they could have made their peace; and through "their Queen's cold dealing" both he and they were now forced to enter England. If there was an intention of helping them, he begged that it might be done at once, and that Scotland might be saved from ruin.<sup>1</sup>

By the same messenger he wrote more particularly to Cecil: "He did not doubt," he said, "that Cecil understood fully the motives both of himself and his friends; they had enterprised their action with full foresight of their sovereign's indignation, being moved thereto by the Queen of England and her Council's hand writ directed to them thereupon;" the "extremities" had followed as they expected; the Queen of Scots would now agree to no condition, relying on the Queen of England's "coldness:" he was told that the Queen's Majesty's conscience was not resolved to make open war without further motive and occasion; the Queen's Majesty was perfectly aware "that he had undertaken nothing for any particularity of his own, but for good affection to follow her own counsel; her Majesty had been the furtherer and the doer, and he with the other noblemen had assisted therein to their power."<sup>2</sup>

Nor were the Lords contented with written protests: they were determined to hear from Elizabeth's own lips an explanation of their desertion. Murray himself and the Abbot of Kilwinning were chosen as the representatives of the rest; and Bedford, after an affectation of opposition which he did not carry beyond a form, sent to the Queen on the 17th of October to prepare for their appearance in London. Pressed by the conse-

<sup>1</sup> Murray to the Council, October 14: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Murray to Cecil, October 14: *MS. Ibid.*

quences of her own faults, Elizabeth would have concealed her conduct if possible from her own eyes; least of all did she desire to have it thrown in her teeth before all the world. She had assured Paul de Foix at last that she would give the Lords no help, and would wait to be attacked. She wished to keep clear of every overt act which would justify the Queen of Scots in appealing to France and Spain. She had persuaded herself that Mary Stuart's army would disperse in a few days for want of supplies, that the Lords would return over the Border as easily as they had crossed it;<sup>1</sup> and that she could assist them with money behind the scenes without openly committing herself. These plans and hopes would be fatally disconcerted by Murray's appearance at the court, and she sent Bedford's courier flying back to him with an instant and angry command to prevent so untoward a casualty. She had said again and again that "she would give no aid that should break the peace." The coming up of the Earl of Murray "would give manifest cause of just complaint to the Queen of Scots;" and she added with curious self-exposure, "neither are these kind of matters in this open sort to be used." If Murray had not yet set out she required Bedford "to stay him by his authority;" if he had started he must be sent after and recalled.<sup>2</sup>

The harshness of Elizabeth's language was softened by the Council, who expressed their regret "that the common cause had not hitherto had better success;" they promised their own support "so far as their power and credit might extend;" but they entreated Murray

<sup>1</sup> Paul de Foix to the King of France, October 16: Teulet, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth to Bedford, October 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

"patiently to accommodate himself to her Majesty's resolution." <sup>1</sup>

Unluckily for Elizabeth, Murray had anticipated the prohibition, and had followed so closely behind the announcement of his approach that the couriers charged with the letters of the Queen and Council met him at Ware. He opened the despatch which was addressed to himself, and immediately sent on a note to Cecil, regretting that he had not been sooner made aware of the Queen's wishes, but saying that as he had come so far he should now remain where he was till he was informed of her further pleasure.

Embarrassed, irritated, and intending at all hazards to disavow her connexion with the Lords, Elizabeth, since Murray had chosen to come to her, resolved to turn his presence to her advantage. When she had once made up her mind to a particular course, she never hesitated on the details, whatever they might cost. The Earl of Murray was told that he <sup>Murray goes to London.</sup> would be received; he went on to London, and "on the night of his arrival the Queen sent for him and arranged in a private interview the comedy which she was about to enact."<sup>2</sup>

The following morning, the 22d of October, he was admitted to an audience in public, at which De Foix

<sup>1</sup> The Council to Murray, October 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*. The letter is signed by Norfolk, Pembroke, Lord William Howard, and Cecil.

<sup>2</sup> "Yo fué avisado que la noche antes desta platica el de Murray estuvo con ella y con el secretario Cecil, buen rato, donde se debió consultar lo que pasó el día siguiente." — De Silva to Philip, November 5. And again, "La Reyna oyó al de Murray la noche que llegó en secreto, y otro día hizo aquella demostracion delante del Embajador de Francia." — Same to the same, November 10: *MS. Simancas*. A report of the proceedings in the Rolls House, which was drawn up for the inspection of Mary Stuart herself, and the Courts of France and Spain, states that "the Queen received Murray openly and none otherwise." The consciousness that she had received him otherwise explains words which else might have seemed superfluous.

and De Mauvissière, who had by this time returned from Scotland, were especially invited to be present. De Silva describes what ensued, not as an eye-witness, but from an account which was given to him by the Queen herself.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth having taken her place with the Council and the ambassadors at her side, the Earl of Murray entered, modestly dressed in black. Elizabeth receives Murray in form; Falling on one knee he began to speak in Scotch, when the Queen interrupted him with a request that he would speak in French, which she said she could better understand. Murray objected that he had been so long out of practice that he could not properly express himself in French; and Elizabeth, whose object was to produce an effect on De Foix and his companion, accepted his excuse for himself; but she said that although he might not be sufficient master of the idiom to speak it, she knew that he understood it when he heard it spoken; she would therefore in her own part of the conversation make use of that language.

She then went on "to express her astonishment that being declared an outlaw as he was by the Queen of Scots, the Earl of Murray should have dared to come unlicensed into her presence. The Queen of Scots had been her good sister, and such she always hoped to find her. There had been differences between them which had made her fear for their friendship; but the King of France had kindly interposed his good offices between herself, her sister, and her sister's subjects;

<sup>1</sup> The account in Sir James Melville's *Memoirs* is evidently taken from the official narrative, with which in most points it verbally agrees. De Silva's is but little different. The one variation of importance will be noticed.

and the two ministers who had been his instruments in that good service being at the moment at her court, she had requested both them and others to attend on the present occasion to hear what she was about to say. She wished it to be generally understood that she would do nothing which would give just offence to the Queen of Scots or which would impair her own honour. The world, she was aware, was in the habit of saying that her realm was the sanctuary for the seditious subjects of her neighbours and it was even rumoured that she had instigated or encouraged the insurrection in Scotland. She would not have done such a thing to be sovereign of the universe. God, who was a just God, she well knew would punish her with the like troubles in her own country; and if she encouraged the subjects of another prince in disobedience, He would stir her own people into insurrection against herself. So far as she knew there were two causes for the present disturbances in Scotland: the Queen of Scots had married without the consent of her Estates, and had failed to apprise the princes her neighbours of her intentions; the Earl of Murray had attempted to oppose her and had fallen into disgrace. This was the first cause. The second was that the Earl of Lennox and his house were opposed to the reformed religion; the Earl of Murray feared that he would attempt to destroy it, and with his friends preferred to lose his life rather than allow what he believed to be the truth to be overthrown. The Earl had come to the English court to request her to intercede with his sovereign that he might be heard in his defence. There were faults which proceeded of malice which deserved the rigour of justice — one of these was treason against the person of the sovereign; and were she

and publicly denies  
that she had  
encouraged  
the rebellion.



to understand that the Earl of Murray had meditated treason, she would arrest and chastise him according to his demerits: but she had known him in times past to be well-affectioned to his mistress; he had loved her, she was confident, with the love which a subject owes to his prince. There were other faults — faults committed through imprudence, through ignorance, or in self-defence, which might be treated mercifully. The Earl of Murray's fault might be one of these; she bade him therefore say for which cause he had instigated the late disturbances."

Elizabeth had exercised a wise caution in preparing Murray for this preposterous harangue. He commanded himself, and replied by calling God to witness of the loyalty with which he had ever served his sovereign: she had bestowed lands, honour, and rewards upon him far beyond his desert; he had desired nothing less than to offend her, and he would have stood by her with life and goods to the utmost of his ability.

Elizabeth then began again: "She held a balance in her hand," she said; "in the one scale was the sentence of outlawry pronounced against him by the Queen of Scots, in the other were the words which he had just spoken. But the word of a Queen must outweigh the word of a subject in the mind of a sister sovereign, who was bound to show most favour to her own like and equal. The Earl had committed actions deserving grave reprehension: he had refused to appear when lawfully summoned; he had taken up arms and had made a league with others like himself to levy war against his sovereign. She had been told that he was afraid of being murdered, but if there had been a conspiracy against him he should have produced the proofs of it in his sovereign's presence."

Murray replied in Scotch, the Queen interpreting as he went on. He said that it was true that there had been a conspiracy; the condition of his country was such that he could not have saved his life except by the means which he had adopted. Elizabeth had doubtless made it a condition of her further friendship that he should say nothing by which she could herself be incriminated; and he contented himself with entreating her to intercede for him to obtain the Queen of Scots' forgiveness.

Elizabeth affected to hesitate. The Queen of Scots, she said, had so often refused her mediation that she knew not how she could offer it again, but she would communicate with her Council, and when she had ascertained their opinions he should hear from her. Meanwhile she would have him understand that he was in great danger, and that he must consider himself a prisoner.

The Earl was then permitted to withdraw. The Queen went aside with the Frenchmen, and assuring them that they might accept what they had witnessed as the exact truth, she begged that they would communicate it to the King of France. To De Silva, when he was next admitted to an audience, she repeated the story word by word, and to him as well as to the others she protested that rebels against their princes should receive from her neither aid nor countenance.<sup>1</sup>

*Elizabeth declares that she had spoken nothing but the truth.*

So ended this extraordinary scene. Sir James Melville's narrative carries the extravagance one point further. He describes Elizabeth as extorting from Murray an acknowledgment that she had not encour-

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, November 5: *MS. Simancas*.

aged the rebellion, and as then bidding him depart from her presence as an unworthy traitor. Sir James Melville does but follow an official report which was drawn up under Elizabeth's eye and sanction, to be sent to Scotland and circulated through Europe. It was thus therefore that she herself desired the world to believe that she had spoken ; and one falsehood more or less in a web of artifice could scarcely add to her discredit. For Murray's sake, however, it may be hoped that he was spared this further ignominy, and that De Silva's is the truer story.

If the Earl did not declare in words, however, that Elizabeth was unconnected with the rebellion, he allowed her to disavow it in silence, and by his forbearance created for himself and Scotland a claim upon her gratitude. He was evidently no consenting party to the deception ; and after leaving her presence he wrote to her in a letter what he had restrained himself from publicly declaring. "Her treatment of him would have been more easy to bear," he said, "had he known in what he had offended ;" "he had done his uttermost with all his power to serve and gratify her ;" and "the more he considered the matter it was ever the longer the more grievous to him : " noblemen who had suffered in former times for maintaining English interests in Scotland, "when their cause was not to be compared to the present, had been well received and liberally gratified ;" while he who had "endeavoured to show a thankful heart in her service when any occasion was presented, could in no wise perceive by her Highness's answer any affection towards his present state : " "her declaration had been more grievous to him than all his other troubles ;"

Private  
protest of  
Murray.

he trusted that "he might in time receive from her some more comfortable answer."<sup>1</sup>

It does not appear that Elizabeth saw Murray any more. She was only anxious to be rid of his presence, which was an intolerable reproach to her; and with these words—the least which the occasion required, yet not without a sad dignity—he returned to his friends who had been sent on to Newcastle, where they were ordered for the present to remain. Elizabeth was left to play out in character the rest of her ignoble game. To the ambassadors, whom she intended to deceive, it was a transparent farce; and there was probably not a house in London, Catholic or Protestant, where her conduct, which she regarded as a political masterpiece, was not ridiculed as it deserved. But it must be allowed at least the merit of completeness. An elaborate account of the interview with Murray was sent to Randolph to be laid before the Queen of Scots; Elizabeth accompanied it with an autograph letter in which she attempted to impose on the keenest-witted woman living <sup>Elizabeth writes to Mary Stuart.</sup> by telling her she wished "she could have been present to have heard the terms in which she addressed her rebellious subject." "So far was she from espousing the cause of rebels and traitors," she said, "that she should hold herself disgraced if she had so much as tacitly borne with them;" "she wished her name might be blotted out from the list of princes as unworthy to hold a place among them," if she had done any such thing.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Murray to Queen Elizabeth, from Westminster, October 31: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> "Aussy je luy (Randolph) ay declaré tout an long le discours entre moy et ung de voz subjectz lequel j'espere vous contentera; soubhaitant que voz oreilles en eussent été juges pour y entendre et l'honneur et l'affection que  
VOL. VIII. 15

At the same time she wrote to Randolph himself, saying frankly that her first impulse on Murray's arrival had been to accept partially if not entirely the conditions of peace which the Queen of Scots had offered to Tamworth. If the Queen of Scots would promise not to molest either herself or her children in the possession of the English throne, she had been ready to pledge her word that nothing should be done in England in prejudice of the Queen of Scots' title to "the second place." On reflection, however, it had seemed imprudent to show excessive eagerness. She had therefore written a letter which Randolph would deliver; and he might take the opportunity of saying that although the Darnley marriage had interrupted the friendship which had subsisted between the Queen of Scots and herself, yet that she desired only to act honourably and kindly towards her; and if the Queen of Scots would undertake to keep the peace and would give the promise which she desired, she would send commissioners to Edinburgh to make a final arrangement.<sup>1</sup>

In a momentary recovery of dignity she added at the close of her letter that if the Queen of Scots refused, "she would defend her country and subjects from such annoyance as might be intended, and would finally use all such lawful means as God should give her, to redress all offences and injuries already done or hereafter to be done to her or her subjects."<sup>2</sup> But an evil spirit of trickery and imbecility had taken possession of Eliza-

je monstrois en vostre endroit; tout au rebours de ce qu'on dict que je defendois voz mauvaises subjectz contre vous; laquelle chose se tiendra tous-jours très éloignée de mon cœur, estant trop grande ignominie pour une princesse à souffrir, non que à faire; soubhaitant alors qu'on me esblouiasse du rang des princes comme estant indigne de tenir lieu." — Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, October 29: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Randolph, October 29: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

abeth's intellect. The Queen of Scots naturally expressed the utmost readiness to receive commissioners sent from England to concede so much of what she had asked. By the time Mary's answer came, her Majesty being no longer in a panic, had become sensible of the indignity of her proposal. She therefore bade Randolph "so compass the <sup>November</sup> matter that the Queen of Scots should rather send commissioners to England, as more honourable to herself;" and "if the Queen of Scots said, as it was like she would, that the Queen of England had offered to send a commission thither, *he should answer that he indeed said so and thought so*, but that he did perceive he had mistaken her message."<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth's strength, could she only have known it, lay in the goodness of the cause which she represented. The essential interests both of England and Scotland were concerned in her success. She was the champion of liberty, and through her the two nations were emancipating themselves from spiritual tyranny. By the side of the Jesuits she was but a shallow driveller in the arts to which she condescended; and she was about to find that after all the paths of honour were the paths of safety, and that she could have chosen no weapon more dangerous to herself than the chicanery of which she considered herself so accomplished a mistress. She had mistaken the nature of English and Scottish gentlemen in supposing that they would be the instruments of a disgraceful policy, and she had done her rival cruel wrong in believing that she could be duped with artifices so poor.

"Send as many ambassadors as you please to our Queen," said Sir William Kirkaldy to Bedford; "they

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Randolph, November 26: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

shall receive a proud answer. She thinks to have a force as soon ready as you do, besides the hope she has to have friendship in England. If force of men and ships come not with the ambassadors, their coming and travail shall be spent in vain."<sup>1</sup>

Even Cecil perhaps now deplored the effects of his own timidity. "I have received," wrote Bedford to him, "your gentle and sorrowful letter. It grieveth me that things will frame no better. The evil news will be the overthrow of three hundred gentlemen of Scotland that are zealous and serviceable." Too justly Bedford feared that the Scotch Protestants in their

Probable  
consequence  
of Eliza-  
beth's con-  
duct.

resentment, would "become the worst enemies that England ever had;" too clearly he saw that Elizabeth by her miserable trifling had ruined her truest friends; that however anxious she might be for peace "the war would come upon her when least she looked for it;" and that Mary Stuart now regarded her with as much contempt as hatred. "Alas! my lord," he wrote to Leicester, "is this the end? God help us all and comfort these poor lords. There is by these dealings overthrown a good duke, some earls, many other barons, lords, and gentlemen, wise, honest, religious. Above all am I driven to bemoan the hard case of the Earl of Murray and the Laird of Grange, whose affection to this whole realm your lordship knows right well. I surely think there came not a greater overthrow to Scotland these many years; for the wisest, honestest, and godliest are discomfited and undone. There is now no help for them, unless God take the matter in hand, but to commit themselves to their prince's will and pleasure. And what hath England gotten by helping them in this

<sup>1</sup> Kirkaldy to Bedford, October 31: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

sort? even as many mortal enemies of them as before it had dear friends; for otherwise will not that Queen receive them to mercy, if she deal no worse with them; nor without open and evident demonstration of the same cannot they assure themselves of her favour; and the sooner they thus do, the sooner they shall have her to conceive a good opinion of them, and the sooner they shall be restored to their livelihoods.”<sup>1</sup>

“Greater account might have been made of the lords’ good-will,” wrote Randolph. “If there be living a more mortal enemy to the Queen my mistress than this woman is, I desire never to be reputed but the vilest villain alive.”<sup>2</sup> “The lords,” concluded Bedford scornfully, “abandoned by man and *turned over to God*, must now do the best they can for themselves.”

And what that was, what fruit would have grown from those strokes of diplomatic genius, had Mary Stuart been equal to the occasion, Elizabeth would ere long have tasted in deposition and exile or death. Randolph, faithful to the end, might say and unsay, might promise and withdraw his word, and take on himself the blame of his mistress’s changing humour; Bedford, with ruin full in view before him, might promise at all risks “to obey her bidding.” But the Lords of Scotland were no subjects of England, to be betrayed into rebellion in the interests of a country which they loved with but half their hearts, and when danger came to be coolly “turned over to God.” Murray might forgive, for Murray’s noble nature had no taint of self in it; but others could resent for him what he himself could pardon. Argyle, his brother-in-

<sup>1</sup> Bedford to Leicester, November 5: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Leicester, November 8. *Ibid.*



law, when he heard of that scene in London, bade Randolph tell his mistress "he found it very strange: the Queen of Scots had made him many offers, and till that time he had refused them all; if the Queen of England would reconsider herself, he would stick to the English cause and fight for it with lands and life; but he demanded an answer within ten days. If she persisted, he would make terms with his own sovereign."<sup>1</sup> The ten days passed and no answer came. Argyle withdrew the check which through the Scots of the Isles he had held over Shan O'Neil, and Ireland blazed into fury and madness; while Argyle himself from that day forward till Mary Stuart's last hopes were scattered at Langside, became the enemy of all which till that hour he had most loved and fought for.

Nor was Argyle alone in his anger. Sir James Melville saw the opportunity and urged on his mistress a politic generosity. From the day of her return from France he showed her that she had "laboured without effect to sever her nobility from England." "The Queen of England had now done for her what for herself she could not do; and if she would withdraw her prosecutions, pardon Murray, pardon Chatelherault, pardon Kirkaldy and Glencairn, she might command their devotion forever."<sup>2</sup> Melville found an ally where he could have least looked for it, to repeat the same advice. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton had for the last six years been at the heart of every Protestant conspiracy in Europe. He it was of whose experienced skill Elizabeth had availed herself to light the Scotch insurrection. His whole nature revolted against the

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, November 19.

<sup>2</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

paltry deception of which he had been made the instrument; and now throwing himself passionately into the interests of the Queen of Scots, he advised the Lords "to sue for pardon at their own Queen's hands, and engage never to offend her again for the satisfaction of any prince alive;" while more daringly and dangerously he addressed Mary Stuart himself.

"Your Majesty," he said, "has in England many friends who favour your title for divers respects; some for conscience, thinking you have the right; some from personal regard; some for religion; some for faction; some for the ill-will they bear to Lady Catherine, your competitor. Your friends and enemies alike desire to see the succession settled. Parliament must meet next year at latest; and it must be your business meanwhile to assure yourself of the votes of the majority, which if you will you can obtain. You have done wisely in marrying an Englishman; we do not love strangers. Make no foreign alliance till you have seen what we can do for you. Keep on good terms with France and Spain, but do not draw too close to them. Go on moderately in religion as you have hitherto done, and you will find Catholics as well as Protestants on your side. Show clemency to the banished Lords. You will thus win many hearts in England. Be careful, be generous, and you will command us all. I do not write as 'a fetch' to induce you to take the Lords back; it is thought expedient for your service by many who have no favour to them and are different from them in religion.

Sir Nicholas  
Throgmorton writes to  
Mary Stuart.

"The Earl of Murray has offended you it is true; but the Protestants persuade themselves that his chief

fault in your eyes is his religion, and on that ground they take his side. Pardon him, restore him to favour, and win by doing so all Protestant hearts. The Lords will in no wise if they can eschew it be again in the Queen of England's debt, neither by obtaining of any favour at your hand by her intervention, nor yet for any support in time of their banishment. Allow them their charges out of their own lands, and the greater part even of the English bishops will declare for you."<sup>1</sup>

Never had Elizabeth been in greater danger; and the worst features of the peril were the creations of her own untruths. Without a fuller knowledge of the strength and temper of the English Catholics than the surviving evidence reveals, her conduct cannot be judged with entire fairness. Undoubtedly the utmost caution was necessary to avoid giving the Spaniards a pretext for interference; and it is due to her to admit that her own unwillingness to act openly on the side of the northern lords had been endorsed by that of Cecil. Yet she had been driven into a position from which, had Mary Stuart understood how to use her advantage, she would scarcely have been able to extricate herself. If the Queen of Scots had relied on her own judgment she would probably have accepted the advice of Melville, and Throgmorton, and her other English friends; she would have declared an amnesty, and would have rallied all parties except the extreme Calvinist fanatics to her side. But such a policy would have involved an indefinite prolongation of the yoke which she had already found intolerable; she must have concealed or suspended her intention of making

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Sir N. Throgmorton to the Queen of Scots: Printed by Sir James Melville; abridged.

a religious revolution, and she must have continued to act with a forbearance towards the Protestants which her passionate temper found more and more difficulty in maintaining. The counsels of David Ritzio were worth an army to English liberty; she had surrendered herself entirely and exclusively to Ritzio's guidance; and when Melville attempted to move the dark and dangerous Italian "he evidenced a disdain of danger and despised counsel." Ritzio, "the minion of the Pope," preferred the more direct and open road of violence and conquest, which he believed, in his ignorance of the people amongst whom he was working, to be equally safe for his mistress, while it promised better for other objects which he had in view for himself. Already every petition addressed to the crown was passing through his hands, and he was growing rich upon the presents which were heaped upon him to buy his favour. He desired rank as well as wealth; and to be made a peer of Scotland, the reward which Mary Stuart intended for him, he required a share of the lands of the banished earls, the estates of Murray most especially, as food at once for his ambition and revenge.

*Injurious  
influence of  
Ritzio over  
Mary Stuart.*

It is time to return to his friend and emissary, Francis Yaxlee, who went at the end of August on a mission to Philip.

*Mission of  
Yaxlee to  
Spain.*

The conditions under which the King of Spain had promised his assistance seemed to have arrived. Mary Stuart had married Lord Darnley as he advised; her subjects had risen in insurrection with the secret support of the Queen of England, who was threatening to send an army into Scotland for their support. She had run into danger in the interests of the Church of Rome, and she looked with confidence to the most

Catholic King to declare for her cause. Yaxlee found Philip at the beginning of October at Segovia. Elizabeth's diplomacy had been so far successful that the Emperor Maximilian was again dreaming that she would marry the Archduke Charles. He was anxious to provide his brother with a throne: he had been wounded by Mary Stuart's refusal to accept the Archduke, when his marriage with her had been arranged between himself and the Cardinal of Lorraine, with the sanction of the Council of Trent. Elizabeth had played upon his humour, and he had reverted to the scheme which had at one time been so anxiously entertained by his father and Philip.<sup>1</sup> The King of Spain's own hopes of any such solution of the English difficulty were waning; yet he was unwilling to offend the Emperor, and he would not throw away a card which might after all be the successful one. It was perhaps the suspicion that Philip was not acting towards her with entire sincerity which urged Mary Stuart into precipitancy; or she might have wished to force Elizabeth into a position in which it would be impossible for any Catholic sovereign to countenance her. But Elizabeth, on the one hand, had been too cautious, and Philip, on the other, though wishing well to the Queen of Scots and evidently believing that she was the only hope of the Catholic cause in England, yet could not overcome his constitutional slowness. He was willing to help her, yet only as

Embarrassment of Philip.

<sup>1</sup> "Á noche recibí una carta de Chantonnay del 27 del pasado en que me escribe que habiendo dicho al Emperador de parte de V. Md. que si era necesario que, para que se hiciese el negocio del matrimonio del Archiduque con la de Inglaterra, V. Md. escribiese á la Reyna de su mano sobrello, y que el Emperador le habia respondido que no estaba desahuciado deste negocio, y le diria lo que sobrello habia de escribir á V. Md. El deseo es grande que [el Emperador] tiene á este negocio."—De Silva to Philip November 10: *MS. Simancas*.

Elizabeth had helped the Scotch insurgents, with a secrecy which would enable him to disavow what he had done. He was afraid of the Huguenot tendencies of the French Government; he was afraid that if he took an open part he might set a match to the mine which was about to explode in the Low Countries: he therefore repeated the cautions which Alva had given Beton at Bayonne; he gave Yaxlee a bond for twenty thousand crowns, which would be paid him by Granvelle at Brussels; he promised if Elizabeth declared war to contribute such further sums as should be necessary, but he would do it only under shelter of the name of the Pope and through the Pope's hands; in his own person he would take no part in the quarrel; the time, he said, was not ripe. He insisted especially that Mary Stuart should betray no intention of claiming the English throne during Elizabeth's lifetime. It would exasperate the Queen of England into decisive action, and justify her to some extent in an immediate appeal to arms.<sup>1</sup> As little would he encourage the Queen of Scots to seek assistance from her uncles in France. She might accept money wherever she could get it, but to admit a French army into Scotland would create a greater danger than it would remove.<sup>2</sup>

With this answer Yaxlee was dismissed; and so anxious was Philip that Mary Stuart should know his opinion that he enclosed a duplicate of his reply to De Silva, with directions that it should be forwarded immediately to Scotland, and with a further credit for money should the Queen of Scots require it.

<sup>1</sup> "Porque esto la escandalizaria mucho y daria gran ocasion para ejecutar contra ellos lo que pudiese, y en alguna manera seria justificar su causa."  
Answer to Yaxlee: Mignet, Vol. II. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

October.  
He sends  
money to  
Mary, but  
will take no  
open step.

Yet Philip was more anxious for her success and more sincere in his desire to support her than might be gathered from his cautious language to her ambassador; and his real feelings may be gathered from a letter which he wrote after Yaxlee had left Segovia to Cardinal Pacheco, his minister at Rome.

PHILIP II. TO CARDINAL PACHECO.<sup>1</sup>

October 16.

"I have received your letter of the 2d of September, containing the message from his Holiness on the assistance to be given to the Queen of Scots. As his Holiness desires to know my opinion, you must tell him first that his anxiety to befriend and support that most excellent and most Christian princess in her present straits is worthy of the zeal which he has ever shown for the good cause, and is what his disposition would have led me to expect. The Queen of Scots has applied to myself as well as to his Holiness; and possessing as I do special knowledge of the condition of that country, and having carefully considered the situation of affairs there, I have arrived at the following conclusions:—

Philip advises the Pope to send assistance.

"There are three possibilities—

"1. Either the Queen of Scots may find herself at war only with her own subjects, and may require assistance merely to reduce her own country to obedience and to maintain religion there; or,

"2. The Queen of England, afraid for her own safety, may openly support the rebels and heretics in their insurrection, and herself undisguisedly declare war; or,

"3. The Queen of Scots may attempt to extort by

<sup>1</sup> MS. *Simancas*.

arms the recognition of her claims on the English succession.

“ In either or all of these contingencies his Holiness will act in a manner becoming his position and his character if he take part avowedly in her behalf. I myself am unwilling to come prominently forward, but I am ready to give advice and assistance, and that in the following manner : —

“ Suppose the first case, that the Scotch rebels find no support from any foreign prince, their strength cannot then be great, and the Queen of Scots with very little aid from us will be able to put them down. It will be sufficient if we send her money, which can be managed secretly ; and if his Holiness approves he will do well to send whatever sum he is disposed to give without delay. I shall myself do the same, and indeed I have already sent a credit to my ambassador in England for the Queen of Scots’ use.

“ If the Queen of England takes an open part, more will be required of us, and secrecy will hardly be possible even if we still confine ourselves to sending money. Whatever be done, however, it is my desire that it be done entirely in his Holiness’s name. I will contribute in my full proportion ; his Holiness shall have the fame and the honour.

“ The last alternative is far more difficult. I foresee so many inconveniences as likely to arise from it that the most careful consideration is required before any step is taken. Nothing must be done prematurely ; and his Holiness I think should write to the Queen of Scots and caution her how she proceeds. A false move may ruin all, while if she abide her time she cannot fail to succeed. Her present care should be to attach her English friends to herself more firmly, and wher-



ever possible to increase their number ; but above all she should avoid creating a suspicion that she aims at anything while the Queen of England is alive. The question of her right to the succession must be continually agitated, but no resolution should be pressed for until success is certain. If she grasp at the crown too soon she will lose it altogether. Let her bide her time before she disclose herself, and meanwhile I will see in what form we can best interfere. The cause is the cause of God, of whom the Queen of Scots is the champion. We now know assuredly that she is the sole gate through which religion can be restored in England ; all the rest are closed."

The unfortunate Yaxlee, having received his money in Flanders, was hurrying back to his mistress, when he was caught in the Channel by a November gale, and was flung up on the coast of Northumberland a mangled body, recognizable only by the despatches found upon his person. They told Elizabeth little which she did not know already. She was perhaps relieved from the fear of an immediate interposition from Spain, the expectation of which, as much as any other cause, had led to the strangeness of her conduct. But she knew herself to be surrounded with pitfalls into which a false step might at any moment precipitate her ; and she could resolve on nothing. One day she thought of trying to persuade the Queen of Scots to establish "religion" on the English model ; "or if that could not be obtained that there might be liberty of conscience, that the Protestants might serve God their own way without molestation."<sup>1</sup> Then again, in a feeble effort to preserve her

November.  
Yaxlee, re-  
turning to  
Scotland, is  
drowned.

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Commissioners going to Scotland, November, 1563.  
*Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

dignity, she would once more attempt to entrap the Queen of Scots into sending commissioners to England to sue for a settlement of the succession, which naturally did but increase Mary Stuart's exasperation.<sup>1</sup> Bothwell made a raid on the Borders, and carried off five or six English prisoners. The Earl of Bedford made reprisals, in the faint hope that it might force Elizabeth into a more courageous attitude. She first blamed Bedford; then, stung by an insolent letter from the Queen of Scots, she flashed up with momentary pride and became conscious of her injustice to Murray.

The Scotch Parliament was summoned for the ensuing February, when Murray and his friends would be required to appear, and if they failed to present themselves would be proceeded against for high treason. The Queen of Scots at Ritzio's instigation was determined to carry an act of attainder and forfeiture against them, which Elizabeth felt herself bound in honour to make an effort to prevent. So anxious she had been for the first two months after they had come to England to disclaim connexion with them that she had almost allowed them to starve; and Randolph on Christmas-day wrote to Cecil that Murray "had not at that time two crowns in the world."<sup>2</sup> But this neglect was less the result of deliberate carelessness than of temporary panic; and as the alarm cooled down she recovered some perception of the obligations under which she lay.

December.  
Elizabeth  
begins to  
recover her-  
self.

At length therefore, she consented for herself to name two commissioners if the Queen of Scots would name two others; and in writing on the subject to

<sup>1</sup> *manuscript* to Cecil, December 15: *Scotch MSS. R.*

<sup>2</sup> Same to same, December 25: *MS. Ibid.*

Randolph, under her first and more generous impulse, she said that "her chief intention in their meeting was, if it might be, that some good might be done for the Earl of Murray." Her timidity came back upon her before she had finished her letter; she scored out the words and wrote instead "the chief intention of this meeting on our part is, *covertly though not manifestly,*

to procure that some good might be done  
*January.* for the Earl."<sup>1</sup> More painful evidence she could scarcely have given of her perplexity and alarm.

Bedford and Sir John Foster were named to represent England. The Queen of Scots, as if in deliberate insult, named Bothwell as a fit person to meet with them; and even this, though wounded to the quick, Elizabeth endured, lest a refusal might "increase her malice."<sup>2</sup>

So the winter months passed away; and the time was fast approaching for the meeting of the Scottish Parliament. The Queen of Scots was by this time pregnant. Her popularity in England was instantly tenfold increased; while from every part of Europe warnings came thicker and thicker that mischief was in the wind. "The young King and Queen of Scots," wrote Sir Thomas Smith from Paris, "do look for a further and a bigger crown, and have more intelligence and practice in England and in other realms than you think for. Both the Pope's and the King of Spain's hands be in that dish further and deeper than I think you know. The ambassadors of Spain, Scotland, and the Cardinal of Lorraine be too great in their devices for me to like. The Bishop of Glasgow looks to be a cardinal, and to bring in Popery ere it be long, not

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Randolph, January 10: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Same to same, February 2: *Lansdowne MSS.*

only into Scotland but into England. I have cause to say to you *vigilate!*"<sup>1</sup>

"It is written," Randolph reported to Leicester, "that this Queen's faction increaseth greatly among you. I commend you for that; for so shall you have religion overthrown, your country torn in pieces, and never an honest man left alive that is good or godly. Woe is me for you when David's (Ritzio's) son shall be a king of England."<sup>2</sup>

At length a darker secret stole abroad that Pius the Fifth, who had just succeeded to the Papal chair, had drawn away Catherine de Medici from the freer and nobler part of the French people; that she had entered on the dark course which found its outcome on the day of St. Bartholomew; and that a secret league had been formed between the Pope and the King of France and the Guises for the uprooting of the reformed faith out of France by fair means or foul. Nor was the conspiracy confined to the Continent; a copy of the bond had been sent across to Scotland which Randolph ascertained that Mary Stuart had signed.<sup>3</sup> At the moment when it arrived she had been moved in some slight degree by Melville's persuasions, and perhaps finding that Philip also advised moderation, she was hesitating whether she should not pardon the lords after all. But the Queen-mother's messenger, M. de Villemont, entreated that she would under no circumstance whatever permit men to return to Scotland who had so long thwarted and obstructed her. The unexpected support from France blew her passion into flame again;<sup>4</sup>

Catholic  
league in  
Europe for  
the extirpa-  
tion of  
heresy.

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Smith to Cecil, March, 1565-66: *French MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Leicester, January 29: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>3</sup> Randolph to Cecil, February 7: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Melville's *Memoirs.*

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<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Leicester, January 29: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>3</sup> Randolph to Cecil, February 7: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Melville's *Memoirs.*

and she looked only to the meeting of the Parliament, from which the strength of the Protestants would now be absent, not only to gratify her own and Ritzio's revenge but to commence her larger and long-cherished projects. She determined to make an effort to induce the Estates to reëstablish Catholicism as the religion of Scotland, leaving the Protestants for the present with liberty of conscience, but with small prospect of retaining long a privilege which when in power they had refused to their opponents.

The defeat of the Lords and the humiliating exhibition of Elizabeth's fears had left Mary Stuart to outward appearance mistress of the situation. There was no power in Scotland which seemed capable of resisting her. She wrote to Pius to congratulate him on her triumph over the enemies of the faith, and to assure him that "with the help of God and his Holiness she would leap over the wall."<sup>1</sup> Bedford and Randolph ceased to hope; and Murray, in a letter modestly and mournfully beautiful, told Cecil that unless Elizabeth interfered, of which he had now small expectation, "for anything that he could judge" he and his friends were wrecked forever.<sup>2</sup>

Suddenly, and from a quarter least expected, a little cloud rose over the halcyon prospects of the Queen of Scots, wrapped the heavens in blackness, and burst over her head in a tornado. On the political stage Mary Stuart was but a great actress. The "woman" had a drama of her own going on behind the scenes; the theatre caught fire; the mock heroics of the Catholic crusade burnt into ashes; and a tremendous domestic tragedy was revealed before the astonished eyes of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Mary Stuart to the Pope, January 21, 1566: Mignet.

<sup>2</sup> Murray to Cecil, January 9: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

Towards the close of 1565 rumours went abroad in Edinburgh, coupled with the news that the Queen was enceinte, that she was less happy in her marriage than she had anticipated. She had expected Darnley to be passive in her hands, and she was finding that he was too foolish to be controlled: a proud, ignorant, self-willed boy was at the best an indifferent companion to an accomplished woman of the world; and when he took upon himself the airs of a king, when he affected to rule the country and still more to rule the Queen, he very soon became intolerable. The first open difference between them arose from the appointment of Bothwell as lieutenant-general in preference to Lennox. The Lennox clan and kindred, the Douglasses, the Ruthvens, the Lindsays, who were linked together in feudal affinity, took the affront to themselves; and Darnley, supported by his friends, showed his resentment by absenting himself from the Court.

February.  
Differences  
between the  
Queen of  
Scots and  
her hus-  
band.

"The Lord Darnley," wrote Randolph on the 20th of December,<sup>1</sup> "followeth his pastimes more than the Queen is content withal; what it will breed hereafter I cannot say, but in the mean time there is some misliking between them."

It was seen how Darnley at the time of his marriage grasped at the title of king. As he found his wishes thwarted he became anxious, and his kinsmen with him, that the name should become a reality, and "the crown matrimonial" be legally secured to him at the approaching Parliament. But there were signs abroad that his wish would not be acceded to; Mary Stuart was unwilling to part with her power for the same reason that Darnley required it.

The crown  
matrimonial.

<sup>1</sup> Scotch MSS. Rolls House.



On Christmas-day Randolph wrote again of "strange alterations." "A while ago," he said,<sup>1</sup> "there was nothing but King and Queen; now the Queen's husband is the common word. He was wont in all writings to be first named; now he is placed in the second. Lately there were certain pieces of money coined with their faces *Henricus et Maria*; these are called in and others framed. Some private disorders there are among themselves; but because they may be but *amantium iræ* or 'household words' as poor men speak, it makes no matter if it grow no further."

In January a marked affront was passed on Darnley. M. Rambouillet brought from Paris "the Order of the Cockle" for him. A question rose about his shield. Had "the crown matrimonial" been intended for him he would have been allowed to bear the royal arms. The Queen coldly "bade give him his due," and he was enrolled as Duke of Rothsay and Earl of Ross.<sup>2</sup> Darnley retaliated with vulgar brutality. He gave roistering parties to the young French noblemen in Rambouillet's train and made them drunk.<sup>3</sup>

One day he was dining with the Queen at the house of a merchant in Edinburgh. He was drinking hard as usual, and when she tried to check him "he not only paid no attention to her remonstrance, but also gave her such words as she left the place with tears." Something else happened also, described as "vicious," the nature of which may be guessed at, at some festivity or other on "Inch Island;"<sup>4</sup> and as a natural consequence the Queen

Loose living  
of Darnley.

<sup>1</sup> *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Knox; *History of the Reformation.*

<sup>3</sup> "Sick with draughts of aqua composita."

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Drury to Cecil, February 16: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.* Printed in Keith.

"withdrew her company" from the Lord Darnley; a staircase connected their rooms, but they slept apart.<sup>1</sup>

Side by side with the estrangement from her husband, Mary Stuart admitted Ritzio to closer and closer intimacy. Signor David, as he was called, became the Queen's inseparable companion in the council-room and the cabinet. At all hours of the day he was to be found with her in her apartments. She kept late hours, and he was often alone with her till midnight. He had the control of all the business of the State; as Darnley grew troublesome his presence was dispensed with at the Council, and a signet, the duplicate of the King's, was intrusted to the favoured secretary. Finding himself so deeply detested by the adherents of Lennox, Ritzio induced the Queen to show favour to those among the banished Lords who were most hostile to the King and were least determined in their Protestantism. Chatelherault was pardoned and allowed to return as a support against the Lennox faction in case of difficulty;<sup>2</sup> while among the Congregation — as was seen in one of Randolph's letters — the worst construction was placed on the relations between the Queen and the favourite.

Thus a King's party and a Queen's party had shaped themselves within six months of the marriage: Scotland was the natural home of conspiracies, for law was powerless there, and social duty was overridden

<sup>1</sup> Ruthven's *Narrative*: Keith.

<sup>2</sup> "The Duke of Chatelherault, finding so favourable address, hath much displeased both the King and his father, who is in great misliking of the Queen. She is very weary of him. Thus it is that those that depend wholly on him are not liked of her, nor they that follow her in like manner are not liked of him, as David and others. If there should between her and the Lord Darnley arise such controversy as she could not well appease, the Duke's aid she would use." — Drury to Cecil, February 16: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B.* 10.

Intimacy  
between  
Mary Stuart  
and Ritzio.

by the more sacred obligation of affinity or private bond. On the 13th of February (the date is important) Randolph thus wrote to Leicester : —

“I know now for certain that this Queen repenteth her marriage, that she hateth the King and all his kin ; I know that he knoweth himself that he hath a partaker in play and game with him ; I know that there are practices in hand contrived between the father and the son to come by the crown against her will ; I know that if that take effect which is intended, David, with the consent of the King, shall have his throat cut within these ten days. Many things and grievous and worse are brought to my ears, yea of things intended against the Queen’s own person.”<sup>1</sup>

It was observed on the first return of Lennox that the enmities and friendships of his family intersected and perplexed the leading division between Catholics and Protestants. Lord Darnley had been brought to Scotland as the representative of the English Catholics and as a support to the Catholic faction ; but it was singular that the great Scottish families most nearly connected with him were Protestants ; while the Gor-

Divisions in  
the Prot-  
estant  
party.

sons, the Hamiltons, the Betons, the relations generally of Chatelherault, who was Lennox’s principal rival, were chiefly on the opposite side. The confusion hitherto had worked ill for the interests of the Reformers. The House of Douglas had preferred the claims of blood to those of religion : the Earl of Ruthven, though Murray’s friend, was Darnley’s uncle,<sup>2</sup> and had stood by the Queen

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Tytler’s *History of Scotland*.

<sup>2</sup> Ruthven had married a half-sister of Lady Margaret Lennox.

through the struggle of the summer ; Lindsay, a Protestant to the backbone, had married a Douglas and went with the Earl of Morton ; the desire to secure the crown to a prince of their own blood and race had overweighed all higher and nobler claims.

The desertion of so large a section of his friends had been the real cause of Murray's failure ; Protestantism was not dead in Scotland, but other interests had paralyzed its vitality, just as four years before Murray's eagerness to secure the English succession for his sister had led him into his first and fatal mistake of supporting her in refusing to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh. The quarrel between the Queen and her husband flung all parties back into their natural places ; Lennox, who twenty years before had been brought in from France in the interest of Henry the Eighth as a check on Cardinal Beton, drifted again into his old position in the front of the Protestant league ; and Darnley's demand for the matrimonial crown, though in himself the mere clamour of disappointed vanity, was maintained by powerful noblemen, who though they neither possessed nor deserved the confidence of the Reformers, yet were recognizing too late that they had mistaken their interest in leaving them.

But the matrimonial crown it became every day more clear that Darnley was not to have ; <sup>Jealousy and dislike of Ritizio.</sup> Ritizio above all others was held responsible for the Queen's resolution to refuse it, and for this, as for a thousand other reasons, he was gathering hatred on his devoted head. A foreigner, who had come to Scotland two years before as a wandering musician, was thrusting himself into the administration of the country, and pushing from their places the fierce lords who had been accustomed to dictate to their sovereign.

As a last stroke of insolence, he was now aiming at the Chancellorship, of which the Queen was about to deprive, in his favour, the great chief of the House of Douglas.

While their blood was set on fire with these real and fancied indignities, Lord Darnley, if his word was to be believed, went one night between twelve and one to the Queen's room. Finding the door locked he knocked, but could get no answer. At length, after he had called many times, and had threatened to break the lock, the Queen drew back the bolt. He entered, and she appeared to be alone, but on searching he found Ritzio half-dressed, in a closet.<sup>1</sup>

Darnley's word was not a good one : he was capable of inventing such a story to compass his other purposes, or if it was true it might have been innocently explained. The Queen of Scots frequently played cards with Ritzio late into the night, and being a person entirely careless of appearances, she might easily have been alone with him with no guilty intention under the conditions which Darnley described. However it was, he believed or pretended that he had

Darnley  
accuses the  
Queen of  
unfaithful-  
ness.

found evidence of his dishonour, and communicated his discovery to Sir George Douglas, another of his mother's brothers, who, at Darnley's desire, on the 10th of February informed the Earl of Ruthven.

<sup>1</sup> " L'une cause de la mort de David est que le Roy quelques jours auparavant, environ une heure après minuit, seroit allé heurter à la chambre de ladite dame, qui estoit audessus de la sienne; et d'autant que après avoir plusieurs fois heurté l'on ne luy respondoit point il auroit appelé souvent la Royne, la priant de ouvrir, et enfin la menaçant de rompre la porte; à cause de quoy elle lui auroit ouvert. Laquelle lediet Roy trouva seule dedans ladite chambre; mais ayant cherché partout il auroit trouvé dedans son cabinet lediet David en chemise, convert seulement d'une robe fourrée." — Analyse d'une dépêche de M. de Foix à la Reyne mère: Teulet, Vol. II. p. 267.

Once before, it appeared, "the nobility had given Darnley counsel suitable to his honour" — that is to say, they had intimated to him their own views of Ritzio's proceedings and character. Darnley had betrayed them to the Queen, who had of course been exasperated. Ruthven had been three months ill; he was then scarcely able to leave his bed, and was inclined at first to run into no further trouble; but pressed at length by Darnley's oaths and entreaties, he saw in what had occurred an opportunity for undoing his work of the summer, and for bringing back the banished Lords. Parliament was to meet in the first week in March to proceed with the forfeitures, so that no time was to be lost. Ruthven consulted Argyle, who was ready to agree to anything which would save Murray from attainder. Maitland, who, since his conduct about the marriage, had been under an eclipse, gave his warm adhesion; and swiftly and silently the links of the scheme were welded. The plan was to punish the miserable minion who, whatever his other offences, was notoriously the chief instigator of the Queen's bitterness against her brother, and to give the coveted crown matrimonial to Darnley, provided he on his part "would take the part of the Lords, bring them back to their old rooms, and establish religion as it was at the Queen's home-coming."<sup>1</sup>

The conspirators, for their mutual security, drew a "bond," to which they required Darnley's signature, that he might not afterwards evade his responsibility. On their side, they "undertook to be liege subjects to the said Prince Henry, to take part with him in all his lawful actions, causes, and quarrels, to be friends to his

Conspiracy  
to kill  
Ritzio and  
restore  
Murray.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, February 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

friends and enemies to his enemies." At the Parliament they would obtain for him "the crown matrimonial for his life;" and "failing the succession of their sovereign, they would maintain his right to the crown of Scotland after her death." Religion should be "maintained and established as it was on the arrival of their sovereign lady in the realm." "They would spare neither life, lands, goods, nor possessions in setting forward all things to the advancement of the said noble prince, and would intercede with the Queen of England for favour to be shown both to himself and to his mother."

Darnley promised in return that the banished noblemen "should have free remission of all their faults" as soon as the possession of the crown matrimonial enabled him to pardon them, and till he obtained it he undertook to prevent their impeachment. The Lords might return at once to Scotland in full possession of "their lands, titles, and goods." If they "were meddled with," he would stand by them to the uttermost, and religion should be established as they desired.<sup>1</sup>

Copies of these articles were carried by swift messengers to Newcastle. Ritzio's name was not mentioned; there was nothing in them to show that more was intended than a forcible revolution on the meeting of Parliament; and such as they were, they were promptly signed by Murray and his friends. Argyle subscribed, Maitland subscribed, Ruthven subscribed; Morton hesitated, but at the crisis of his uncertainty, Mary Stuart innocently carried out her threat of depriving him of the Chancellorship, and he added his name in a paroxysm of anger. It need not be supposed that the further secret was unknown to any of

<sup>1</sup> Bond subscribed March 6, 1566: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

them, but it was undesirable to commit the darker features of the plot to formal writing.

Meanwhile the Queen of Scots, all unconscious of the deadly coil which was gathering round her, had chosen the moment to order Randolph to leave Scotland. She entertained not the faintest suspicion of the conspiracy, but she knew that the English ambassador had shared Murray's secrets, that he had been Elizabeth's instrument in keeping alive in Scotland the Protestant faction, and that so long as he remained, the party whom she most detested would have a nucleus to gather round. Believing that she could do nothing which Elizabeth would dare to resent, she called him before the Council, charged him with holding intercourse with her rebels, and bade him begone.<sup>1</sup> The opportunity was ill selected, for Elizabeth had been for some time recovering her firmness; she had sent Murray money for his private necessities; in the middle of February she had so far overcome both her economy and her timidity that she supplied him with a thousand pounds, "to be employed in the common cause and maintenance of religion;"<sup>2</sup> and before she heard of the treatment of Randolph, she had taken courage to write with something of her old manner to the Queen of Scots herself.

"She had not intended," she said, "to have written on the subject again to her, but hearing that her intercession hitherto in favour of the Lords had been not only fruitless, but that at the approaching Parliament

<sup>1</sup> The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, February 20: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Acknowledgment by the Earl of Murray of the receipt of money from the Queen's Majesty, February, 1566: *MS. Ibid.*



the Queen of Scots meant to proceed to the worst extremities, she would no longer forbear to speak her mind." The Earl of Murray had risen in arms against her only to prevent her marriage and for the defence of his own life from the malice which was borne him; he was the truest and best of her subjects; and therefore, she said, "in the interest of both the realms we are moved to require you to have that regard that the Earl and others with him may be received to your grace, or if not that you will forbear proceeding against him and the others until some better opportunity move you to show them favour."<sup>1</sup>

In this mood Elizabeth was not inclined to bear with patience the dismissal of her ambassador. Proudly and coldly she replied to Mary Stuart's announcement of what she had done, "that inasmuch as the Queen of Scots had been pleased to break the usages of nations and pass this affront upon her, as this was the fruit of the long forbearance which she had herself shown, she would be better advised before she entered into any further correspondence; she would take such measures as might be necessary for her own defence; and for the Earl of Murray, to deal plainly, she could not for her honour and for the opinion she had of his sincerity and loyalty towards his country but see him relieved in England, whereof she thought it convenient to advertise the Queen of Scots: if harm came of it

March. she trusted God would convert the evil to those that were the cause of it."<sup>2</sup>

The first and probably the second of these letters never reached their destination; the events which were

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, February 24: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Same to same, March 3: *Lansdowne MSS. 8*.

going forward in Scotland rendered entreaties and threats in behalf of Murray alike unnecessary.<sup>1</sup> Randolph, though ordered off, was unwilling to go till he saw the execution of the plot: he made excuses for remaining till an escort came to his door with orders to see him over the frontiers, and he was compelled to obey. Bothwell met him on the road to Berwick with apologies and protests; but Randolph said he knew that Bothwell and one other — no doubt Ritzio — were those who had advised his expulsion. They desired to force Elizabeth to declare war, when Bothwell hoped “to win his spurs.”<sup>2</sup>

Far enough was the Queen of Scots from the triumphant war which she was imagining; far enough was Bothwell from his spurs, and Ritzio from his Chancellorship and the investiture of the lands of Murray. The mine was dug, the train was laid, the match was lighted, to scatter them and their projects all to the winds.

The Parliament was summoned for Monday the 11th of February; on the 12th the Bill of Attainder against the Lords was to be brought forward and pressed to immediate completion. On Friday the 8th the conspirators sent a safe-conduct signed by Darnley to bring Murray back to Scotland. Lord Hume had been gained over and had undertaken to escort his party through the marches, and before the Earl and his companions could reach Edinburgh all would be over.<sup>3</sup>

The outline of the intended proceedings was sketched

<sup>1</sup> “A great business is in hand in Scotland, which will bring about the recall of the Earl of Murray, so that we have forborne to forward your Majesty's letters in his behalf.” — Randolph and Bedford to Elizabeth, March 6: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 6: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Bedford and Randolph to Cecil and Leicester, March 8: *MS. Ibid.*

by Randolph for Cecil's information on his arrival at Berwick.

BEDFORD AND RANDOLPH TO CECIL.<sup>1</sup>

*Berwick, March 6.*

“The Lord Darnley, weary of bearing the name of a king and not having the honour pertaining to such a dignity, is in league with certain of the lords for a great attempt, whereby the noblemen now out of their country may without great difficulty be restored and in the end tranquillity ensue in that country. Somewhat we are sure you have heard of diverse discords and jars between the Queen and her husband ; partly for that she hath refused him the crown matrimonial, partly for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of himself as altogether is intolerable to be borne, which if it were not over-well known we would both be very loth that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is. We need not more plainly describe the person — you have heard of the man whom we mean.

“The time of execution and performance of these matters is before the Parliament, as near as it is. To this determination there are privy in Scotland these — Argyle, Morton, Ruthven, Boyd, and Lidington ; in England these — Murray, Grange, Rothes, myself (Bedford), and the writer hereof (Randolph).

If the Queen will not yield to persuasion, we know not how they propose to proceed. If she make a power

<sup>1</sup> *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

*A sketch of  
the plot is  
sent to Cecil.*

at home she will be fought with ; if she seek aid from abroad the country will be placed at the Queen's Majesty's disposal to deal as she think fit."

In the blindness of confidence, and to prevent the chance of failure in Parliament, Mary Stuart had collected the surviving peers of the old <sup>Meeting of the Scotch Parliament.</sup> "spiritual estate," the Catholic bishops and abbots, and placed them "in the antient manner," intending, as she herself declared,<sup>1</sup> "to have done some good anent the restoring the auld religion, and to have proceeded against the rebels according to their demerits." On Thursday the 7th she presided in person at the choice of the Lords of the Articles, naming with her own mouth "such as would say what she thought expedient to the forfeiture of the banished Lords ;"<sup>2</sup> and on Friday there was a preliminary meeting at the Tolbooth to prepare the Bill of Attainder. The Lords of the Articles,<sup>3</sup> carefully as they had been selected, at first reported "that they could find no cause sufficient for so severe a measure."<sup>4</sup> The next day — Saturday — the Queen appeared at the Tolbooth in person, and after "great reasoning and opposition" carried her point. "There was no other way but the <sup>Intended attainder of</sup> Lords should be attained."<sup>5</sup> The Act was <sup>Murray.</sup> drawn, the forfeiture was decreed, and required only the sanction of the Estates.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 2: Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Ruthven's *Narrative*. — "Who chose the Lords of the Articles?" Ruthven said to the Queen. "Not I," said the Queen. "Saving your presence," said he, "you chose them all, and nominated them"

<sup>3</sup> The Lords of the Articles were a committee chosen from the Three Estates, and according to law, chosen by the Estates, to prepare the measures which were to be submitted to Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> Ruthven's *Narrative*.

<sup>5</sup> Knox.

<sup>6</sup> The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, April 2: Keith

The same day, perhaps at the same hour, when Mary Stuart was exulting in the consciousness of triumph, the conspirators were completing their preparations. Sunday the 10th had been the day on which they had first fixed to strike their blow. But Darnley was impatient. He swore that "if the slaughter was not hasted" he would stab David in the Queen's presence with his own hand. Each hour of delay was an additional risk of discovery, and it was agreed that the deed should be done the same evening. Ruthven proposed to seize Ritzio in his own room, to try him before an extemporized tribunal, and to hang him at the market cross. So commonplace a proceeding however would not satisfy the imagination of Darnley, who desired a more dramatic revenge; he would have his enemy seized in the Queen's own room, in the very sanctuary of his intimacy; "where she might be taunted in his presence because she had not entertained her husband as she ought of duty." The ill-spirited boy, in retaliation for treatment which went, it is likely, no further than coldness and contempt, had betrayed or invented his own disgrace, to lash his kindred into fury and to break the spirit of the proud woman who had humbled him with her scorn.

The Queen's friends — Huntly, Athol, Sutherland, Bothwell, Livingston, Fleming, Sir James Balfour, and others — were in Edinburgh for the Parliament, and had rooms in Holyrood; but as none of them dreamt of danger there were no troops there but the ordinary guard, which was scanty and could be easily overpowered. It was arranged that as soon as darkness had closed in, the Earl of Morton, with a party of the Douglasses and their kindred, should silently surround the palace: at eight o'clock the doors should be seized and

no person permitted to go out or in; while Morton himself, with a sufficient number of trusted friends, should take possession of the staircase leading to the Queen's rooms, and cut off communication with the rest of the building. Meanwhile the rest —

But a plan of the rooms is necessary to make the story intelligible. The suite of apartments occupied by Mary Stuart were on the first floor in the northwest angle of Holyrood Palace. They communicated in the usual way by a staircase with the large inner quadrangle. A door from the landing led directly into the presence chamber; inside the presence chamber was the bedroom; and beyond the bedroom a small cabinet or boudoir not more than twelve feet square, containing a sofa, a table, and two or three chairs. Here after the labours of the day the Queen gave her little supper parties. Darnley's rooms were immediately below, connected with the bedroom by a narrow spiral staircase, which opened close to the little door leading into the cabinet.

*Plan of the  
Queen's  
rooms in  
Holyrood.*

"Knowing the King's character, and that he would have a lusty princess afterwards in his arms," the conspirators required his subscription to another bond, by which he declared that all that was done "was his own device and intention;" and

*The murder  
of Ritzio.*

then after an early supper together, Ruthven, though so ill that he could hardly stand, with his brother George Douglas, Ker of Faldonside, and one other, followed Darnley to his room, and thence with hushed breath and stealthy steps they ascended the winding stairs. A tapestry curtain hung before the cabinet. Leaving his companions in the bedroom, Darnley raised it and entered. Supper was on the table; the Queen was sitting on the sofa, Ritzio in a chair opposite to her,

and Murray's loose sister, the Countess of Argyle, on one side. Arthur Erskine the equerry, Lord Robert Stuart, and the Queen's French physician were in attendance standing.

Darnley placed himself on the sofa at his wife's side. She asked him if he had supped. He muttered something, threw his arm round her waist, and kissed her. As she shrunk from him half surprised, the curtain was again lifted, and against the dark background, alone, his corslet glimmering through the folds of a crimson sash, a steel cap on his head, and his face pale as if he had risen from the grave, stood the figure of Ruthven.

Glaring for a moment on Darnley, and answering his kiss with the one word "Judas," Mary Stuart confronted the awful apparition, and demanded the meaning of the intrusion.

Pointing to Ritzio, and with a voice sepulchral as his features, Ruthven answered:

"Let yon man come forth; he has been here over long."

"What has he done?" the Queen answered; "he is here by my will." "What means this?" she said, turning again on Darnley.

The caitiff heart was already flinching. "Ce n'est rien!" he muttered. "It is nothing!"<sup>1</sup> But those whom he had led into the business would not let it end in nothing.

"Madame," said Ruthven, "he has offended your honour; he has offended your husband's honour; he

<sup>1</sup> Bedford and Randolph in their report from Berwick, said the King answered, "It was against her honour." But these words were used by Ruthven. An original report, printed by Teulet, Vol. II. p. 262, compared with that given by Mary herself in the letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, printed in Keith, creates a belief that the words in the text were those which Darnley really used. They are more in keeping with his character.

has caused your Majesty to banish a great part of the nobility that he might be made a lord ; he has been the destroyer of the commonwealth, and must learn his duty better."

"Take the Queen your wife to you," he said to Darnley, as he strode forward into the cabinet.

The Queen started from her seat "all amazed," and threw herself in his way, while Ritzio cowered trembling behind her and clung to her dress.

Stuart, Erskine, and the Frenchman, recovering from their astonishment, and seeing Ruthven apparently alone, "made at him to thrust him out."

"Lay no hands on me," Ruthven cried, and drew his dagger ; "I will not be handled." In another moment Faldonside and George Douglas were at his side. Faldonside held a pistol at Mary Stuart's breast ; the bedroom door behind was burst open, and the dark throng of Morton's followers poured in. Then all was confusion ; the table was upset, Lady Argyle catching a candle as it fell. Ruthven thrust the Queen into Darnley's arms and bade him hold her ; while Faldonside bent Ritzio's little finger back till he shrieked with pain, and loosed the convulsive grasp with which he clung to his mistress.

"Do not hurt him," Mary said, faintly. "If he has done wrong he shall answer to justice."

"This shall justify him," said the savage Faldonside, drawing a cord out of his pocket. He flung a noose round Ritzio's body, and while George Douglas snatched the King's dagger from its sheath, the poor wretch was dragged into the midst of the scowling crowd and borne away into the darkness. He caught Mary's bed as he passed ; Faldonside struck him sharply on the wrist ; he let go with a shriek, and as



he was hurried through the anteroom the cries of his agony came back upon Mary's ear: "Madame, madame, save me! save me!—justice—I am a dead man! spare my life!"

Unhappy one! his life would not be spared. They had intended to keep him prisoner through the night, and hang him after some form of trial; but vengeance would not wait for its victim. He was borne alive, as far as the stairhead, when George Douglas, with the words, "This is from the King," drove Darnley's dagger into his side: a moment more and the whole fierce crew were on him like hounds upon a mangled wolf; he was stabbed through and through, with a hate which death was not enough to satisfy, and was then dragged head foremost down the staircase, and lay at its foot with sixty wounds in him.

So ended Ritzio, unmourned by living soul, save her whose favour had been his ruin, unheeded, now that he was dead, as common carrion, and with no epitaph on his remains except a few brief words from an old servant of the palace, so pathetic because so commonplace. The body was carried into the lodge and flung upon a chest to be stripped for burial. "Here is his destiny," the porter moralized as he stood by; "for on this chest was his first bed when he came to this place, and there now he lieth, a very niggard and misknown knave."<sup>1</sup>

The Queen meanwhile fearing the worst, but not knowing that Ritzio actually was dead, had struggled into her bedroom, and was there left with Ruthven and her husband. Ruthven had followed the crowd for a moment, but not caring to leave Darnley alone with her, had returned. She had thrown herself sob-

<sup>1</sup> Ruthven's *Narrative*.

bing upon a seat; the Earl bade her not be afraid, no harm was meant to her; what was done was by the King's order.

"Yours!" she said, turning on Darnley as on a snake; "was this foul act yours? Coward! wretch! did I raise you out of the dust for this?"

Driven to bay, he answered sullenly that he had good cause; and then his foul nature rushing to his lips, he flung brutal taunts at her for her intimacy with Ritzio, and complaints as nauseous of her treatment of himself.<sup>1</sup>

"Well," she said, "you have taken your last of me, and your farewell; I shall never rest till I give you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."

Ruthven tried to soothe her, but to no purpose. Could she have trampled Darnley into dust upon the spot she would have done it. Catching sight of the empty scabbard at his side, she asked him where his dagger was.

He said he did not know.

"It will be known hereafter," she said; "it shall be dear blood to some of you if David's be spilt. Poor David!" she cried, "good and faithful servant! may God have mercy on your soul."

Fainting between illness and excitement, Ruthven

<sup>1</sup> The expressions themselves are better unproduced. The conversation rests on the evidence of Ruthven, which is considerably better than Darnley's, and if it was faithfully related might justify Randolph's view of the possible parentage of James the Sixth. But the recollection of a person who had been just concerned in so tremendous a scene was not likely to be very exact. Bedford and Randolph believed the worst: "It is our part," they said in a despatch to the English Council, "rather to pass the matter over in silence than to make any rehearsal of things committed to us in secret; but we know to whom we write;" and they went on to describe the supposed conversation word for word as Ruthven related it. Those who are curious in Court scandals may refer to this letter, which has been printed by Mr. Wright in the first volume of *Elizabeth and her Times*.

with a half apology sank into a chair and called for wine.

"Is this your sickness?" she said bitterly. "If I die of my child, and the commonwealth come to ruin, there are those who will revenge me on the Lord Ruthven." Running over the proud list of friends with which she had fooled her fancy, she threatened him with Philip, and Charles, and Maximilian, and her uncles, and the Pope.

"Those are over great persons," Ruthven answered, "to meddle with so poor a man as me. No harm is meant you. If aught has been done to-night which you dislike, your husband, and none of us, is the cause."

The courage and strength with which the Queen had hitherto borne up began to give way.

"What — what have I done to be thus handled?" she sobbed.

"Ask your husband," said the Earl.

"No," she said, "I will ask you. I will set my crown before the Lords of the Articles, and if they find I have offended, let them give it where they please."

"Who chose the Lords of the Articles?" Ruthven answered with a smile; "you chose them all."

At this moment the boom was heard of the alarm bell in Edinburgh. A page rushed in to say that there was fighting in the quadrangle; and the Earl, leaning heavily on a servant's arm, rose and went down. Huntly, Sutherland, and Bothwell, hearing the noise and confusion, had come out of their rooms to know what it meant. Morton's followers required them to surrender: they had called a few servants about them, and were defending themselves against

heavy odds when Ruthven appeared. Ill as he was, he thrust himself into the mêlée, commanded both sides to drop their arms, and by the glare of a torch read to them Darnley's bond. "The banished earls," he said, "would be at Holyrood in the morning, and he prayed that all feuds and passions might be buried in the dead man's grave."

The Queen's friends, surprised and outnumbered, affected to be satisfied; the leaders on both sides shook hands; and Bothwell and Huntly withdrew to their own apartments, forced open the windows, dropped to the ground and fled.

This disturbance was scarcely over when the Provost of Edinburgh came out of the Canongate with four hundred of the town guard, and demanded the meaning of the uproar. The Provost was a supporter of the Queen; Mary dashed from her seat, wrenched back the casement, and cried out for help.

"Sit down," some ruffian cried. "If you stir you shall be cut in collops and flung over the walls."<sup>1</sup> She was dragged away, and Darnley, whose voice was well known, called out that the Queen was well, that what had been done was done by orders from himself, and that they might go home. The citizens bore no good will to Ritzio: too familiar with wild scenes to pay much heed to them, they inquired no further, and went back to their homes, leaving eighty of their number to assist Morton in the guard of the palace.

Ruthven returned for a moment, but only to call Darnley away and leave the Queen to her rest. The King withdrew, and with him all the other actors in

<sup>1</sup> The speaker is not known. Mary says in her letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, "The Lords in our face declared that we should be cut down." It was not Ruthven, who was still absent.

the late tragedy who had remained in the scene of it. The ladies of the court were forbidden to enter, and Mary Stuart was locked alone into her room amidst the traces of the fray, to seek such repose as she could find.

So closed Saturday the 9th of March at Holyrood.

*Murder of  
Adam Black.*

The same night another dark deed was done in Edinburgh, which passed scarce noticed in the agitation of the murder of Ritzio. Mary of Lorraine, the year before her death, had a chaplain named Adam Black; he was a lax kind of man, and after being detected in sundry moral improprieties, had been banished to England, where he held a cure in the English Church near Newcastle. His old habits remained with him: he acknowledged to Lord Bedford one bad instance of seduction; but it is to be supposed that he had merit of some kind, for Mary Stuart, as soon as she was emancipated from the first thralldom of the Puritans, recalled him, took him into favour, and appointed him one of the court preachers. He had better have remained in Northumberland. A citizen encountered him a little before Christmas in some room or passage where he should not have been. He received "two or three blows with a cudgel and one with a dagger," and had been since unable to leave his bed. While Edinburgh was shuddering over the scene in the palace, a brother or husband who had matter against the chaplain — the same, perhaps, who had stabbed him — finished his work, and murdered the wounded wretch where he lay.<sup>1</sup>

In the morning at daybreak a proclamation went out in the King's name that the Parliament was postponed, and that "all bishops, abbots, and Papists should depart the town." Murray was expected in a

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

few hours ; no one knew how deep or how far the conspiracy had gone, and the Catholics, uncertain what to do, offered no resistance. What was to be done with the Queen was the next difficulty. They had caged their bird, but it might be less easy to hold her ; and if they believed the Queen was crushed or broken, the conspirators knew little of the temper which they had undertaken to control : sleeping behind that grace of form and charm of manner there lay a spirit which no misfortune could tame — a nature like a panther's, merciless and beautiful — and along with it every dexterous art by which women can outwit the coarser intellects of men.

In the silence and solitude of that awful night, she nerved herself for the work before her. With the grey of the twilight she saw Sir James Melville passing under her window, and called to him to bring the city guard and rescue her ; but Melville bowed and passed on ; at that moment rescue was impossible ; she had nothing to depend upon but her own courage and her husband's folly. Could she escape, her friends would rally round her, and her first thought was to fly in the disguise of one of her gentlewomen. But to escape alone, even if possible, would be to leave Darnley with the Lords ; she resolved to play a bolder game, to divide him from them, and carry him off, and to leave them without the name of a king to shield their deed.

In the first agony of passion, she had been swept away from her self-control, and she had poured on her husband the full stream of her hate and scorn. He returned to her room on the Sunday morning to find her in appearance subdued, composed, and affectionate. To Mary Stuart it was an easy

Mary Stuart  
gains over  
Darnley

matter to play upon the selfish, cowardly, and sensual nature of Darnley. As Ruthven had foreseen, she worked upon him by her caresses; she persuaded him that he had been fatally deceived in his supposed injuries; but she affected to imagine that he had been imposed on by the arts of others, and when he lied she pretended to believe him. She uttered no word of reproach, but she appealed to him through the child — his child — whose safety was endangered; and she prayed that at least, situated as she was, she might not be left entirely among men, and that her ladies might be allowed to attend her.

Soft as the clay of which he was made, Darnley obtained the reluctant consent of Morton and Ruthven. The ladies of the palace were admitted to assist at the Queen's morning toilet, and the instant use she made of them was to communicate with Huntly and Bothwell. The next point was to obtain larger liberty for herself. Towards the afternoon "she made as though she would part with her child;" a midwife was sent for, who with the French physician insisted that she must be removed to a less confined air. To Darnley she maintained an attitude of dependent tenderness; and fooled in his idle pride by the prayers of the woman whom he believed that he had brought to his feet, he was led on to require that the guard should be removed from the gate, and that the exclusive charge of her should be committed to himself.

The conspirators, "seeing that he was growing effeminate, liked his proposals in no way;" they warned him that if he yielded so easily "both he and they would have cause to repent;" and satisfied that the threat of miscarriage was but "trick and policy," they refused to dismiss a man from his post, and watched the palace with unremitting vigilance.

So passed Sunday. As the dusk closed in a troop of horse appeared on the road from Dunbar. In a few moments more the Earl of Murray was at the gate. Return of  
Murray.

It was not thus that Mary Stuart had hoped to meet her brother. His head sent home by Bothwell from the Border, or himself brought back a living prisoner, with the dungeon, the scaffold, and the bloody axe — these were the images which a few weeks or days before she had associated with the next appearance in Edinburgh of her father's son. Her feelings had undergone no change. He knew some secrets about her which she could not pardon the possessor, and she hated him with the hate of hell ; but the more deep-set passion paled for the moment before a thirst for revenge on Ritzio's murderers.

On alighting the Earl was conducted immediately to the Queen's presence. The accomplished actress threw herself sobbing into his arms.

" Oh my brother," she said as she kissed him, " if you had been here I should not have been so uncourtously handled."

Murray had " a free and generous nature." But a few hours had passed since she had forced the unwilling Lords of the Articles to prepare a Bill of Attainder against him ; but her shame, her seeming helplessness, and the depth of her fall touched him, and he shed tears.

The following morning Murray, Ruthven, Morton, and the rest of the party, met to consider the next step which they should take. March 11. Little is known of their deliberations except from the suspected source of a letter from Mary Stuart to the Archbishop of Glasgow. Some, she said, proposed to keep her a



perpetual prisoner, some to put her to death, some "that she should be warded in Stirling Castle till she had approved in Parliament what they had done, established their religion, and given to the King the whole government of the realm."

Some measure of this sort they were without doubt prepared to venture; it had been implied in the very nature of their enterprise: yet to carry it out they required Darnley's countenance, and fool and coward as they knew him to be, they had not fathomed the depth of his imbecility and baseness. While the Lords were in consultation, the Queen had wormed the whole secret from him; he told her of the plot for the return of Murray and his friends, with the promises which had been made to himself; he revealed every name that he knew, concealing nothing save that the murder had been his own act and design and provoked by his accusations against herself; he had forgotten that his own handwriting could be produced in deadly witness against him. From that moment she played upon him like an instrument; she showed him that if he remained with the Lords he would be a tool in their hands; she assured him of the return of her own affection for him, and flattered his fancy with visions of greatness which might be in store for him if he would take his place again at her side; she talked of "his allies the confederate princes," who would be displeased if he changed his religion; she appealed again to the unborn heir of their united greatness, and she bound him soul and body to do her bidding.

After possessing him with the plans which she had formed to escape, she sent him to the Lords to promise in her name that she was ready to forget the past, and to bury all unkindness in a general reconciliation.

They felt instinctively that what they had done could never really be pardoned ; but Ruthven, Morton, and Murray returned with Darnley to her presence, when again with the seeming simplicity of which she was so finished a mistress, she repeated the same assurances. She was ready, she said, to bind herself in writing if they would not trust her word ; and while the two other noblemen were drawing a form for her to sign, she took Murray by the hand and walked with him for an hour. She then retired to her room. Darnley, as soon as the bond was ready, took charge of it, promising to return it signed on the following day ; and meanwhile he pressed again that after so much concession on her part they were bound to meet her with corresponding courtesy, and to spare her the ignominy of being longer held a prisoner in her own palace.

Had they refused to consent, an attempt would have been made that night by Bothwell to carry her off by force. But to reject the request of Darnley, whose elevation to a share of the throne was the professed object of the conspiracy, was embarrassing and perhaps dangerous ; they gave way after another warning ; the guard was withdrawn, Ruthven protesting as he yielded that " whatever bloodshed followed should be on the King's head."

The important point gained, Darnley would not awake suspicion by returning to the Queen ; he sent her word privately that " all was well ; " and at eight in the evening Stewart of Traquair, Captain of the Royal Guard, Arthur Erskine, " whom she would trust with a thousand lives," and Standen, a young and gallant gentleman, assembled in the Queen's room to arrange a plan for the escape from Holyrood. The first question was where she was to go. Though the

gates were no longer occupied, the palace would doubtless be watched; and to attempt flight and to fail would be certain ruin. In the Castle of Edinburgh she would be safe with Lord Erskine, but she could reach the castle only through the streets, which would be beset with enemies; and unfit as she was for the exertion she determined to make for Dunbar.

She stirred the blood of the three youths with the most touching appeal which could be made to the generosity of man. Pointing to the child that was in her womb she adjured them by their loyalty to save the unborn hope of Scotland. So addressed they would have flung themselves naked on the pikes of Morton's troopers. They swore they would do her bidding be it what it would; and then "after her sweet manner and wise directions, she dismissed them till midnight to put all in order as she herself excellently directed."

"The rendezvous appointed with the horses was near the broken tombs and demolished sepulchres in the ruined Abbey of Holyrood."<sup>1</sup> A secret passage led underground from the palace to the vaults of the abbey; and at midnight Mary Stuart, accompanied by one servant and her husband, — who had left the Lords under pretence of going to bed, — "crawled through the charnel-house, among the bones and skulls of the antient kings," and "came out of the earth" where the horses were shivering in the March midnight air.

The moon was clear and full. "The Queen with incredible animosity was mounted *en croup* behind Sir Arthur Erskine upon a beautiful English double gelding," "the King on a courser of Naples;" and then away — away — past Restalrig, past

Flight to  
Dunbar.

<sup>1</sup> Then standing at the southeastern angle of the Royal Chapel.

Arthur's Seat, across the bridge and across the field of Musselburgh, past Seton, past Prestonpans, fast as their horses could speed; "six in all — their Majesties, Erskine, Traquair, and a chamberer of the Queen." In two hours the heavy gates of Dunbar had closed behind them, and Mary Stuart was safe.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever credit is due to iron fortitude and intellectual address, must be given without stint to this extraordinary woman. Her energy grew with exertion; the terrible agitation of the three preceding days, the wild escape, and a midnight gallop of more than twenty miles within three months of her confinement, would have shaken the strength of the least fragile of human frames: but Mary Stuart seemed not to know the meaning of the word exhaustion; she had scarce alighted from her horse than couriers were flying east, west, north, and south, to call the Catholic nobles to her side; she wrote her own story to her minister at Paris, bidding the Archbishop in a postscript anticipate the false rumours which would be spread against her honour, and tell the truth — her version of the truth — to the Queen-mother and the Spanish ambassador.

To Elizabeth she wrote with her own hand, fierce, dauntless, and haughty, as in her highest prosperity.<sup>2</sup> "Ill at ease with her escape from Holyrood, and suffering from the sickness of pregnancy, she demanded

<sup>1</sup> The account of the escape is taken from a letter of Antony Standen, preserved among the *Cecil MSS.* at Hatfield; the remaining details of the murder and the circumstances connected with it, are collected from Ruthven's *Narrative*, printed in Keith; the letters of Bedford and Randolph, printed by Wright; the two Italian accounts in the seventh volume of Labanoff; Calderwood's *History*; Mary Stuart's letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and a letter of Paul de Foix, printed by Teulet.

<sup>2</sup> This letter may be seen in the Rolls House; the strokes thick and slightly uneven from excitement, but strong, firm, and without sign of tremulousness.

to know whether the Queen of England intended to support the traitors who had slain her most faithful servant in her presence. If she listened to their calumnies and upheld them in their accursed deeds, she was not so unprovided of friends as her sister might dream; there were princes enough to take up her quarrel in such a cause."

The loyalty of Scotland answered well its sovereign's summons. The faithful Bothwell, ever foremost in good or evil in Mary Stuart's service, brought in the night-riders of Liddesdale, the fiercest of the Border marauders; Huntly came, forgetting his father and brother's death, and his own long imprisonment; the Archbishop of St. Andrew's — an evil omen to Darnley — was followed by a thousand Hamiltons; Erskine, from the Castle, sent word of his fidelity; and the Earl Marshal, Athol, Caithness, and a hundred more, hurried to Dunbar with every trooper that they could raise. In four days the Queen found herself at the head of a small army of eight thousand men.

On the other hand, the conspirators' plans were disconcerted hopelessly by the flight of the King. Perplexed, divided, uncertain what to do when the slightest hesitation was ruin — they lost confidence in one another and in their cause. Had they held together, they could still have collected force enough to fight. The Western Highlands were at the devotion of Argyle, and he at any time could command his own terms; but Elizabeth's behaviour in the preceding autumn had forever shaken Argyle's policy. The Queen, "not venturing," as she said herself, "to have so many at once on her hands," sent to say she would pardon the rebellion of the summer, and would receive into favour all who had not been present at or been

concerned in the murder of Ritzio. "They seeing now their liberty and restitution offered them were content to leave those who were the occasion of their return, and took several appointments as they could."<sup>1</sup> Glencairn joined Mary at Dunbar; Rothes followed; and then Argyle, the central pillar of the Protestant party. Three only of those who had been in England refused to desert their friends — the stainless, noble Murray, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the Laird of Patarrow. "These, standing so much upon their honour and promise, would not leave the other without likelihood to do them good."<sup>2</sup>

Thus, within a week from her flight, Mary Stuart was able to return in triumph to Edinburgh. Mary Stuart returns to Edinburgh. She had succeeded so entirely that she was already able to throw off the mask towards Darnley. Sir James Melville met her on the road: she "lamented to him the King's folly and ingratitude;" and it was to no purpose that the old far-sighted diplomatist warned her against indulging this new resentment; the grudge never left her heart,<sup>3</sup> and she had made the object of it already feel the value of the promises with which she had wrought upon his weakness. "The King spoke to me of the lords," said Melville, "and it appeared that he was troubled that he had deserted them, finding the Queen's favour but cold."<sup>4</sup>

The conspirators, or "the Lords of the new attempt," as they were called, made no effort to resist. Erskine threatened to fire on them from the Castle, and before the Queen reached Holyrood, Ruthven, Morton, Maitland, Lindsay, Faldonside, Flight of the conspirators. even Knox, were gone their several ways, most of

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 21.

<sup>2</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

them making for the Border to take shelter with Bedford at Berwick. Murray, too, left Edinburgh with them, and intended to share their fortunes; but Ruthven and Morton, generous as himself, wrote to beg him, "as the rest had fallen off, not to endanger himself on their account, but to make his peace if he was able;"<sup>1</sup> and Murray, feeling that he would do more good for them and for his country by remaining at home than by going with them into a second exile, returned to his sister, and was received with seeming cordiality.

Bothwell, whose estates had been forfeited for his share in the Arran conspiracy, was rewarded for his services by "all that had belonged to Lidington." The unfortunate King, "contemned and disesteemed of all," was compelled to drain the cup of dishonour. He declared before the Council "that he had never counselled, commanded, consented to, assisted, or approved" the murder of Ritzio. His words were taken down in writing, and published at the market-cross of every town in Scotland. The conspirators retorted with sending the Queen the bond which they had exacted from him, in which he claimed the deed as exclusively his own; while the fugitives at Berwick addressed a clear, brief statement of the truth to the Governmer<sup>t</sup> in England:

MORTON AND RUTHVEN TO CECIL.<sup>2</sup>

*Berwick, March 27.*

"The very truth is this:—the King having conceived a deadly hatred against David Ritzio, an Italian, and some others, his accomplices, did a long time

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, March 21: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Ibid.*

ago move unto his ally the Lord Ruthven that he might in no way endure the misbehaviour and offence of the foresaid David, and that he might be fortified by him and some others of the nobility to see the said David executed according to his demerits; and after due deliberation, the said Lord Ruthven communicated this the King's mind to the Earl of Morton, with whom, having deeply considered the justice of the King's desires in respect of the manifold misbehaviours and misdeeds of the said David Ritzio, tending so manifestly to the great danger of the King's and Queen's Majesties and the whole estate of that realm and commonweal — he not ceasing to abuse daily his great estate and credit to the subversion of religion and the justice of the realm, as is notoriously known to all Scotland, and more particularly to us — we, upon the considerations aforesaid, found good to follow the King's determination anent the foresaid execution; and for divers considerations we were moved to haste the same, considering the approaching Parliament, wherein determination was taken to have ruined the whole nobility that then was banished; whereupon we perceived to follow a subversion of religion within the realm, and consequently of the intelligence betwixt the two realms grounded upon the religion; and to the execution of the said enterprise the most honest and the most worthy were easily induced to approve and fortify the King's deliberation.

“How be it, in action and manner of execution, more was followed of the King's advice, kindled by an extreme choler, than we minded to have done.

“This is the truth, whatever the King say now, and we are ready to stand by it and prove it.”



## CHAPTER X.

THE murder of Ritzio had deranged Mary Stuart's projects in Scotland, and had obliged her to postpone her intended restoration of Catholicism; but her hold on parties in England was rather increased than injured by the interruption of a policy which would have alarmed the moderate Protestants. The extreme Puritans still desired to see the succession decided in favour of the children of Lady Catherine Grey; but their influence in the state had been steadily diminishing as the Marian horrors receded further into the distance. The majority of the peers, the country gentlemen, the lawyers and the judges, were in favour of the pretensions which were recommended at once by justice and by the solid interests of the realm. The union of the crowns of Scotland and England was the most serious desire of the wisest of Elizabeth's statesmen, and the marriage of Mary Stuart with Darnley had removed the prejudice which had attached before to her alien birth.

The difficulty which had hitherto prevented her recognition had been the persistency with which she identified herself with the party of revolution and Ultramontane fanaticism. The English people had no desire for a Puritan sovereign, but as little did they wish to see again the evil days of Bonner and Gardiner. They were jealous of their national independence; they had done once for all with the Pope,

Increasing  
popularity of  
Mary Stuart  
in England.

and they would have no priesthoods, Catholic or Calvinist, to pry into their opinions or meddle with their personal liberty. For a creed they would be best contented with a something which would leave them in communion with Christendom, and preserve to them the form of superstition without the power of it.

Had Elizabeth allowed herself to be swayed by the ultra-Protestants, Mary Stuart would have appealed to arms and would have found the weightiest portion of the nation on her side. Had the Queen of Scots' pretensions been admitted, so long as her attitude to the Reformation was that of notorious and thorough-going hostility, she would have supplied a focus for disaffection. A prudent and reasonable settlement would have been then made impossible; and England sooner or later would have become the scene of a savage civil war like that which had lacerated France.

Elizabeth, with the best of her advisers, expected that as she grew older Mary Stuart would consent to guarantee the liberties which England essentially valued, and that bound by conditions which need not have infringed her own liberty of creed, she could be accepted as the future Queen of the united island. It was with this view that the reversion of the crown had been held before Mary Stuart's eyes coupled with the terms on which it might be hers, while the Puritans had been forbidden to do anything which might have driven her to the ultimatum of force.

The intrigues with Spain, the Darnley marriage, and the attitude which the Queen of Scots had assumed in connexion with it, had almost precipitated a crisis. Elizabeth had been driven in despair to throw herself on the fanaticism of the Congregation, to endorse the demands of Knox that the Queen of Scots should ab-

jure her own religion, and afterwards to retreat from her position with ignominious and dishonourable evasions. Yet the perplexity of a sovereign whose chief duty at such a time was to prevent a civil war, deserves or demands a lenient consideration. Had Elizabeth declared war in the interest of Murray and the Protestants, she would have saved her honour, but she would have provoked a bloody insurrection; while it would have become more difficult than ever to recognize the Queen of Scots, more hopeless than ever to persuade her into moderation and good sense. If

General  
character of  
Elizabeth's  
policy.

Elizabeth's conduct in its details had been alike unprincipled and unwise, the broader bearings of her policy were intelligible and commendable; her caprice and vacillation arose from her consciousness of the difficulties by which she was on every side surrounded. The Queen of Scots herself had so far shown in favourable contrast with her sister of England: she had deceived her enemies, but she had never betrayed a friend. The greater simplicity of conduct, however, was not wholly a virtue: it had been produced by the absence of all high and generous consideration. Ambition for herself and zeal for a creed which suited her habits, were motives of action which involved and required no inconsistencies. From the day on which she set foot in Scotland she had kept her eye on Elizabeth's throne, and she had determined to restore Catholicism; but her public schemes were but mirrors in which she could see the reflection of her own greatness, and her creed was but the form of conviction which least interfered with her self-indulgence: the passions which were blended with her policy made her incapable of the restraint which was necessary for her success; while her French train-

ing had taught her lessons of the pleasantness of pleasure, for which she was at any time capable of forgetting every other consideration. Elizabeth forgot the woman in the Queen, and after her first mortification about Leicester preserved little of her sex but its caprices. Mary Stuart, when under the spell of an absorbing inclination, could fling her crown into the dust and be woman all.

Could she have submitted to the advice so consistently pressed upon her by Philip, Alva, Melville, Throgmorton, by every wise friend that she possessed, the impatience of the English for a settlement of the succession would have rendered her victory certain. She had only to avoid giving occasion for just complaint or suspicion, and the choice of the country notwithstanding her creed — or secretly perhaps in consequence of it — would have inevitably at no distant time have been determined in her favour. Elizabeth she knew to be more for her than against her. The Conservative weight of the country party would have far outbalanced the Puritanism of the large towns.

But a recognition of her right to an eventual inheritance was not at all the object of Mary Stuart's ambition; nor in succeeding to the English throne did she intend to submit to trammels like those under which she had chafed in Scotland. She had spoken of herself not as the prospective but as the actual Queen of England; <sup>1</sup> she had told the Lords who had followed her to

<sup>1</sup> "That Queen the other day was in a merchant's house in Edinburgh where was a picture of the Queen's Majesty; when some had said their opinions how like or unlike it was to the Queen's Majesty of England, 'No,' said she, 'it is not like, for I am Queen of England.' These high words, together with the rest of her doings and meanings towards this realm, I refer to others to consider." — Bedford to Leicester, February 14, 1566: *Pepysian MSS. Cambridge.*

Prospects of  
the Queen of  
Scots.

Dumfries that she would lead them to the gates of London; she would not wait; she would make no compromise; she would wrench the sceptre out of Elizabeth's hands with a Catholic army at her back as the first step of a Catholic revolution. Even here — so far had fortune favoured her — she might have succeeded could she but have kept Scotland united; could she but have availed herself skilfully of the exasperation of the Lords of the Congregation when they found themselves betrayed and deserted; could she have remained on good terms with her husband and his father, and kept the friends of the House of Lennox in both countries true to her cause. That opportunity she had allowed to escape. It remained to be seen whether she had learnt prudence from the catastrophe from which she had so narrowly escaped; whether she would now abandon her more dangerous courses, and fall back on moderation; or whether, if she persisted in trying the more venturous game, she could bring herself to forego the indulgence of those personal inclinations and antipathies which had caused the tragedy at Holyrood. If she could forget her injuries; if she could renounce with Ritzio's life her desire to revenge his murder; if she avoided giving open scandal to the Catholic friends of Darnley and his mother, her prospects of an heir would more than reëstablish her in the vantage-ground from which she had been momentarily shaken.

Elizabeth, either through fear or policy, seemed as anxious as ever to disconnect herself from the Congregation. The English Government had been informed a month beforehand of the formation of the plot; they had allowed it to be carried into execution without remonstrance; but when the thing was done and Mur-

ray was restored, the Queen made haste to clear herself of the suspicion of having favoured it. Sir Robert Melville was residing in London, and was occupied notoriously in gaining friends for the Scotch succession. Elizabeth sent for him, and when it was too late to save Ritzio she revealed to him the secret information which had been supplied by Randolph; nay, in one of the many moods into which she drifted in her perplexities, she even spoke of Argyle and Murray as "rebels pretending reformation of religion." There were too many persons in England and Scotland who were interested in dividing the Protestant noblemen from the English court. The Queen's words were carried round, to rend still further what remained of the old alliance; and Randolph, discredited on all sides, could but protest to Cecil against the enormous mischief which Elizabeth's want of caution was producing.<sup>1</sup>

It appeared as if the Queen had veered round once more and was again throwing herself wholly into Mary Stuart's interests. She replied to the letter which the Queen of Scots addressed to her from Dunbar by sending Melville to Scotland with assurances of sympathy and help; she wrote to

April.  
Elizabeth  
takes Mary  
Stuart's side.

Darnley advising him "to please the Queen of Scots in all things," and telling him that she would take it as an injury to herself if he offended her again; she advised Murray "to be faithful to the Queen his sovereign" under pain of her own displeasure.<sup>2</sup> As to the second set of fugitives who had taken shelter in England — Morton, Ruthven, and the rest — she told Bedford that she would neither acquit nor condemn

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, June 17. The letter is addressed significantly "To Mr. Secretary's self, and only for himself." — *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Sir R. Melville to Elizabeth, April 1: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

LIBRARY OF  
EWING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE  
ALLAHABAD.

himself to fly into the Highlands. One of the three gentlemen was executed; but the Queen while she used his information repaid his baseness with deserved scorn. The bond which he had signed was under her eyes; and the stories which he had told against her were brought forward by the Lords in their own justification. While distrust and fear and suspicion divided home from home and friend from friend, the contempt and hate of all alike was centred on the unhappy caitiff who had betrayed both parties in turn; and Darnley, who was so lately dreaming of himself as sovereign of England and Scotland, was left to wander alone about the country as if the curse of Cain was clinging to him.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Elizabeth was reaping a harvest of inconveniences from her exaggerated demonstrations of friendliness. The Queen of Scots, taking her at her word, demanded that Morton and Ruthven should be either surrendered into her hands or at least should not be permitted to remain in England. Elizabeth would have consented if she had dared, but Argyle and Murray identified their cause with that of their friends. Murray was so anxious that they should do well that "he wished himself banished for them to have them as they were." Though they had generously begged him to run no risks in their interest, he had told his sister "that they had incurred their present danger only on his account;" while Argyle sent word to Elizabeth that if she listened to the Queen of Scots' demands he would

Elizabeth is  
required to  
surrender  
the fugitive  
Lords.

<sup>1</sup> "He is neither accompanied nor looked upon by any nobleman; attended by certain of his own servants and six or eight of his guard, he is at liberty to do or go what or where he will." — Randolph to Cecil, April 25; *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

join Shan O'Neil.<sup>1</sup> Vainly Elizabeth struggled to extricate herself from her dilemma; resentment was still pursuing her for her treachery in the past autumn. She dared not shelter the conspirators, for the Queen of Scots would no longer believe her fair speeches, and De Silva was watching her with keen and jealous eyes; "<sup>2</sup> she dared not surrender or expel them lest the last Englishman in Ireland should be flung into the sea. She could but shuffle and equivocate in a manner which had become too characteristic. Ruthven was beyond the reach of human vengeance: he had risen from his sick bed to enact his part in Holyrood; he had sunk back upon it to die. To Morton she sent an order, a copy of which could be shown to the Queen of Scots, to leave the country; but she sent with it a private hint that England was wide, and that those who cared to conceal themselves could not always be found.<sup>3</sup> Argyle she tried to soothe and work upon, and she directed Randolph to "deal with him." She understood, she said, "that there was a diminution of his good will towards her service, and specially in the matter of Ireland," and that "he alleged a lack of her favour in time of his need." "She had been right sorry for the trouble both of him and his friends; she had done all that in honour she could do, omitting nothing for the Earl of Murray's preservation but open hostility; she trusted therefore that he would alter his mind and withdraw

May.  
Argyle  
threatens to  
join Shan  
O'Neil.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, May 13 and May 23: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> "Con todas las promesas y demostraciones que esta Reyna ha hecho á la de Escocia al presente de la prometer ayuda y serle amiga y no consentir estos ultimos conspiradores en su Reyno, como oygo estan en Newcastle." De Silva to Phillip, May 18: *MS. Simancas.*

<sup>3</sup> Morton to Cecil, May 16; Leicester to Cecil, July 11: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*



them till she was more fully informed of their conduct, and that for the present they might remain under his protection ;<sup>1</sup> but she insisted that they must move to a distance from the frontier, and Melville was allowed to promise Mary Stuart "that they should meet with nothing but rigour."

De Silva informed Philip that the terror of the scene through which she had passed had destroyed the hope which the Queen of Scots had entertained of combining her subjects against the Queen of England. "She had found them a people fierce, strange, and changeable ; she could trust none of them ;<sup>2</sup> and she had therefore responded graciously to the tone which Elizabeth assumed towards her." In an autograph letter of passionate gratitude Mary Stuart placed herself as it were under her sister's protection ; she told her that in tracing the history of the late conspiracy she had found that the Lords had intended to imprison her for life, and if England or France came to her assistance they had meant to kill her ; she implored Elizabeth to shut her ears to the calumnies which they would spread against her, and with engaging frankness she begged that the past might be forgotten ; she had experienced too deeply the ingratitude of those by whom she was surrounded to allow herself to be tempted any more into dangerous enterprises ; for her own part she was resolved never to give offence to her good sister again ; nothing should be wanting to restore the happy relations which had once existed between them ; and should she recover safely from her confinement, she hoped that in the summer Elizabeth would make a progress to the north, and that at last she might have an

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Bedford, April 2: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> De Silva to Philip: *MS. Simancas.*

opportunity of thanking her in person for her kindness and forbearance.<sup>1</sup>

This letter was sent by the hands of a certain Thornton, a confidential agent of Mary Stuart, who had been employed on messages to Rome. "A very evil and naughty person, whom I pray you not to believe," was Bedford's credential for him in a letter of the 1st of April to Cecil. He was on his way to Rome again on this present occasion. The public in Scotland supposed that he was sent to consult the Pope on the possibility of divorcing Darnley; and it is remarkable that the Queen of Scots at the close of her own letter desired Elizabeth to give credit to him on some secret matter which he would communicate to her. She perhaps hoped that Elizabeth would now assist her in the dissolution of a marriage which she had been so anxious to prevent.

It was not till her return to Edinburgh that the whole circumstances became known to her which preceded the murder; and whether she had lost in Ritzio a favoured lover, or whether the charge against her had been invented by Darnley to heat the blood of his kindred, in either case his offence against the Queen was irreparable and deadly, and every fresh act of baseness into which he plunged increased the loathing with which she regarded him. The poor creature laboured to earn his pardon by denouncing accomplices after accomplices. Maitland's complicity was unsuspected till it was revealed by Darnley. He gave up the names of three other gentlemen "whom only he and no man else knew to be privy."<sup>2</sup> Maitland's lands were seized, and he had

Darnley betrays the names of the conspirators.

<sup>1</sup> The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, April 4: *Scotch MSS.* Printed by Labanoff, Vol. VII. p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, April 2: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

himself to fly into the Highlands. One of the three gentlemen was executed; but the Queen while she used his information repaid his baseness with deserved scorn. The bond which he had signed was under her eyes; and the stories which he had told against her were brought forward by the Lords in their own justification. While distrust and fear and suspicion divided home from home and friend from friend, the contempt and hate of all alike was centred on the unhappy caittiff who had betrayed both parties in turn; and Darnley, who was so lately dreaming of himself as sovereign of England and Scotland, was left to wander alone about the country as if the curse of Cain was clinging to him.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Elizabeth was reaping a harvest of inconveniences from her exaggerated demonstrations of friendliness. The Queen of Scots, taking her at her word, demanded that Morton and Ruthven should be either surrendered into her hands or at least should not be permitted to remain in England. Elizabeth would have consented if she had dared, but Argyle and Murray identified their cause with that of their friends. Murray was so anxious that they should do well that "he wished himself banished for them to have them as they were." Though they had generously begged him to run no risks in their interest, he had told his sister "that they had incurred their present danger only on his account;" while Argyle sent word to Elizabeth that if she listened to the Queen of Scots' demands he would

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him from the favouring of that principal rebel, being sworn cruel adversary to the state of all true religion." If possible, Randolph was to move Argyle by reasoning and remonstrance; if he failed, "sooner than O'Neil should receive any aid from thence, she would be content to have some portion of money bestowed secretly by way of reward to the hindrance of it." And yet, she said — her thrifty nature coming up again — the money was not to be promised if the Earl could be prevailed on otherwise; "of the matter of money she rather made mention as of a thing for Randolph to think upon until he heard farther from her, than that he should deal with any person therein."<sup>1</sup>

But Elizabeth was not to escape so easily, and Argyle's resentment had reached a heat which a more open hand than Elizabeth's would have failed to cool. Murray was ready to forget his own wrongs, but Argyle would not forget them for him, and would not forget his other friends. "If the Queen of England,"

the proud M'Callum-More replied, "would  
June. interfere in behalf of the banished Lords, and would undertake that in Scotland there should be no change of religion," he on his part "would become O'Neil's enemy and hinder what he could the practices between the Queen his sovereign and the Papists of England."<sup>2</sup> But Elizabeth must accept his terms; it was a matter with which money in whatever quantity had nothing to do. The practices with the English Catholics had begun again, or rather, in spite of Mary Stuart's promises to abstain from such transactions for the future, they had never ceased; and a

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Randolph, May 23: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* 9

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, June 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

curious discovery was about to be made in connexion with them. A report had been sent by Murray to Cecil that there was an Englishman about the court at Holyrood who was supposed to have come there on no good errand ; he was one of the Rokebies of Yorkshire, and was closely connected with the great Catholic families there. But Cecil it seems knew more of Rokeby's doings than Murray knew. He had gone across the Border to be out of the way of the bailiffs ; and Cecil, who suspected that Mary Stuart was still playing her old game, and had before been well acquainted with Rokeby, sent him word " that he might purchase pardon and help if he would use his acquaintance in Scotland to the contentation of the Queen's Majesty," in other words if he would do service as a spy. Rokeby, who wanted money and had probably no honour to lose, made little objection. His brother-in-law, Lascelles, who was one of Mary Stuart's stanchest friends and correspondents, gave him letters of introduction, and with these he hastened to Edinburgh and was introduced by Sir James Melville to the Queen.

In a letter to Cecil he thus describes his reception : —

" In the evening, after ten o'clock, I was sent for in secret manner, and being carried into a little closet in Edinburgh Castle the Queen came to me ; and so doing the duty belonging to a prince I did offer my service, and with great courtesy she did receive me, and said I should be very welcome to her, and so began to ask me many questions of news from the court of England, and of the Queen, and of the Lord Robert. I could say but little ; so being very late she said she would next day confer with me

A spy at  
Mary  
Stuart's  
court.



in other causes, and willed me take my ease for the night.

“The next night after I was sent for again, and was brought to the same place, where the Queen came to me, she sitting down on a little coffer without a cushion and I kneeling beside. She began to talk of her father, Lascelles, and how much she was beholden to

Mary  
Stuart's  
friends in  
England.

him, and how she trusted to find many friends in England whensoever time did serve; and did name Mr. Stanley, Herbert, and Dacres, from whom she had received letters, and by means she did make account to win friendship of many of the nobility—as the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland. She had better hopes of them for that she thought them all to be of the old religion, which she meant to restore again with all expedition, and thereby win the hearts of the common people. Besides this she practised to have two of the worshipful of every shire of England, and such as were of her religion to be made her friends, and sought of me to know the names of such as were meet for that purpose. I answered and said I had little acquaintance in any shire of England but only Yorkshire, and there were great plenty of Papists. She told me she had written a number of letters to Christopher Lascelles with blank superscriptions; and he to direct them to such as he thought meet for that purpose. She told me she had received friendly letters from diverse, naming Sir Thomas Stanley and one Herbert, and Dacres with the crooked back—thus meaning that after she had friended herself in every shire in England with some of the worshipful or of the best countenance of the country, she meant to cause wars

to be stirred in Ireland, whereby England might be kept occupied; then she would have an army in readiness, and herself with her army to enter England — and the day that she should enter, her title to be read and she proclaimed Queen. And for the better furniture of this purpose she had before travailed with Spain, with France, and with the Pope for aid; and had received fair promises with some money from the Pope and more looked for.”<sup>1</sup>

Such a revelation as this might have satisfied Elizabeth that it was but waste of labour to attempt any more to return to cordiality and confidence with the Queen of Scots; yet either from timidity, or because she would not part with the hope that Mary Stuart might eventually shake off her dreams, and qualify herself for the succession by prudence and good sense, she would not submit to the conditions on which Argyle offered to remain her friend. She could not conceal that she was aware of Mary Stuart's intrigues with her subjects; but she chose to content herself with reading her a lecture as excellent as it was useless on the evil of her ways. Messengers were passing and repassing continually between the court at Holyrood and Shan O'Neil. Other and more sincere English Catholics than Rokeby were coming day after day to Holyrood to offer their swords and to be admitted to confidence. Elizabeth in the middle of June sent Sir Henry Killigrew to remonstrate, and “to demand such present answer as should seem satisfactory,”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Rokeby to Cecil, June 1566: *Hatfield MSS.* Printed in the *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Instructions to Sir H. Killigrew, sent to the Queen of Scots, June 15. Cecil's hand: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

while to his public instructions she added a private letter of her own.

“Madam,” she wrote to the Queen of Scots, “I am informed that open rebels against my authority are receiving countenance and favour from yourself and your councillors. The news, madam, I must tell you with your pardon do much displease us. Remove these briars, I pray you, lest some thorn prick the hand of those who are to blame in this. Such matters hurt to the quick. It is not by such ways as these that you will attain the object of your wishes. These be the byepaths which those follow who fear the open road. I say not this for any dread I feel of harm that you may do me. My trust is in Him who governs all things by His justice, and with this faith I know no alarm. The stone recoils often on the head of the thrower, and you will hurt yourself—you have already hurt yourself—more than you can hurt me. Your actions towards me are as full of venom as your words of honey. I have but to tell my subjects what you are, and I well know the opinion which they will form of you. Judge you of your own prudence—you can better understand these things than I can write them. Assure me under your own hand of your good meaning, that I may satisfy those who are more inclined than I am to doubt you. If you are amusing yourself at my expense, do not think so poorly of me that I will suffer such wrong without avenging it. Remember, my dear sister, that if you desire my affection you must learn to deserve it.”<sup>1</sup>

Essentially Elizabeth was acting with the truest re-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, June 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

gard for the Queen of Scots' interests, and was in fact behaving with extraordinary forbearance. It was unfortunate that petty accidents should have so perpetually given her rival a temporary advantage and an excuse for believing herself the injured party. Among the Catholics of whose presence at her court Sir H. Killigrew was instructed to complain, the spy of Cecil had been especially named. Already the Queen of Scots had been warned to beware how she trusted Rokeby; and at once, with an affected anxiety to meet Elizabeth's wishes, she ordered his arrest and the seizure of his papers. Cecil's letters to him were discovered in his correspondence, and the evidence of the underplot was too plain to permit Elizabeth to return upon so doubtful a ground.<sup>1</sup>

These, however, and all subsidiary questions were soon merged in the great event of the summer. On the 19th of June, in Edinburgh Castle, between nine and ten in the morning was born James Stuart, <sup>Birth of James Stuart.</sup> heir presumptive to the united crowns of

England and Scotland. Better worth to Mary Stuart's ambition was this child than all the legions of Spain and all the money of the Vatican; the cradle in which he lay, to the fevered and anxious glance of English politicians, was as a Pharos behind which lay the calm waters of an undisturbed succession and the perpetual union of the too long divided realms. Here, if the occasion was rightly used, lay the cure for a thousand evils; where all differences might be forgotten, all feuds be laid at rest, and the political fortunes of Great Britain be started afresh on a newer and brighter career.

Scarcely even in her better mind could the birth of

<sup>1</sup> Killigrew to Cecil, July 4: *Scottish MSS. Rolls House.*

the Prince of Scotland be less than a mortification to Elizabeth — knowing, as she could not fail to know, the effect which it would produce upon her subjects. Parliament was to have met in the spring, and she had attempted to force herself into a resolution upon her own marriage, which would enable her to encounter the House of Commons. In the middle of February she believed that she had made up her mind to the Archduke. Sir Richard Sackville had been selected as a commissioner to arrange preliminaries at Vienna; and she had gone so far as to arrange in detail the conditions on which her intended husband was to reside in England.

“I do understand this to be the state of his [Sackville’s] despatch,” wrote Sir N. Throgmorton to Leicester.<sup>1</sup> “Her Majesty will tolerate the public contract for the exercise of the Archduke’s Roman religion, so as he will promise secretly to her Majesty to alter the said religion hereafter. She doth further say that if the archduke will come to England, she promiseth to marry him unless there be some apparent impediment. She maketh the greatest difficulty to accord unto him some large provision to entertain him at her and the realm’s cost as he demandeth.”

So far had her purpose advanced — even to a haggling over the terms of maintenance; yet at the last moment, the thought of losing Leicester forever became unbearable. He was absent from the court, and Elizabeth determined to see him once more before the fatal step was taken.

“After this was written,” Throgmorton concluded,

<sup>1</sup> February, 1566, endorsed in Leicester’s hand — “A very considerable letter.” — *Pepysian MSS. Magdalen College, Cambridge.*

The Arch-  
duke or  
Leicester  
once more.

"I did understand her Majesty had deferred the signing of Sackville's despatch until your Lordship's coming."

Cecil at the same time wrote to inform Leicester of the Queen's resolution; and either the Earl believed that it was his policy to appear to consent, or else if he may be credited with any interval of patriotism, he was ready for the moment to forget his own ambition in the interest of England.<sup>1</sup>

As, however, it had been Mary Stuart's first success after her marriage with Darnley which had driven Elizabeth towards a sacrifice which she abhorred; so Ritzio's murder, the return of Murray and his friends, and the recovered vitality of the Protestants in Scotland gave her again a respite. As Mary Stuart's power to hurt her grew fainter, the Archduke once more ceased to appear indispensable; and when Leicester came back to the court Sackville's mission was again put off. Again the Queen began to nourish convulsive hopes that she could marry her favourite

<sup>1</sup> "I heartily thank you, Mr. Secretary, for your gentle and friendly letter, wherein I perceive how far her Majesty hath resolved touching the matter she dealt in on my coming away. I pray God her Highness may so proceed therein as may bring but contentation to herself and comfort to all that be hers. Surely there can be nothing that shall so well settle her in good estate as that way—I mean her marriage—whensoever it shall please God to put her in mind to like and to conclude. I know her Majesty hath heard enough thereof, and I wish to God she did hear that more that here abroad is wished and prayed for. Good will it doth move in many, and truly it may easily appear necessity doth require of all. We hear ourselves much also when we be there, but methinks it is good sometimes that some that be there should be abroad, for that is sooner believed that is seen than heard; and in hope, Mr. Secretary, that her Majesty will now earnestly intend that which she hath of long time not yet minded, and delay no longer her time, which cannot be won again for any gift, I will leave that with trust of happiest success, for that God hath left it the only means to redeem us in this world."—Leicester to Cecil, February 20, 1566. *Domestic MSS. Eliz., Vol. XXXIX., Rolls House.*

after all. Again Cecil had to interfere with a table of damning contrasts between the respective merits of the Austrian Prince and the English Earl;<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> DE MATRIMONIO REGINÆ ANGLIÆ CUM EXTERO PRINCIPE.

April, 1566.

Reasons to move the Queen to accept  
Charles.

"Besides his person { his birth,  
his alliance.

1. "She shall not diminish the honour of a prince to match with a prince.

2. "When she shall receive messages from kings, her husband shall have of himself by birth and countenances to receive them.

3. "Whatsoever he shall bring to the realm he shall spend it here in the realm.

4. "He shall have no regard to any person but to please the Queen.

5. "He shall have no opportunity nor occasion to tempt him to seek the crown after the Queen, because he is a stranger, and hath no friends in the realm to assist him.

6. "By marriage with him the Queen shall have the friendship of King Philip, which is necessary, considering the likelihood of falling out with France.

7. "No Prince of England ever remained without good amity of the House of Burgundy, and no prince ever had less alliance than the Queen of England hath, nor any prince ever had more cause to have friendship and power to assist her estate.

Reasons against the Earl of  
Leicester.

1. "Nothing is increased by marriage of him, either in riches, estimation, or power.

2. "It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the Earl have been true.

3. "He shall study nothing but to enhance his own particular friends to wealth, to office, to lands, and to offend others —

Sir H. Sidney.	Leighton.
Earl Warwick.	Christmas.
Sir James Crofts.	Middleton.
Henry Dudley.	Middlemore.
John Dudley.	Colshill.
Foster.	Wiseman.
Sir F. Jobson.	Killigrew.
Appleyard.	Molyneux.
Horsely.	

4. "He is infamed by the death of his wife.

5. "He is far in debt.

6. "He is like to prove unkind, or jealous of the Queen's Majesty.

again, when remonstrance seemed to fail, the pale shadow of Amy Robsart was called up out of the tomb, and waved the lovers once more asunder.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the season passed on; summer came, and James's birth found Elizabeth as far from marriage as ever; Parliament had been once more postponed, but the public service could be conducted no longer without a subsidy, and a meeting at Michaelmas was inevitable.

Scarcely was Mary Stuart delivered and the child's sex made known, than Sir James Melville was in the saddle. The night of the 19th he slept at Berwick; on the evening of the 22d he rode into London. A grand party was going forward at Greenwich: the Queen was in full force and spirit, and the court in its summer splendour. A messenger glided through the crowd and spoke to Cecil; Cecil whispered to his mistress, and Elizabeth flung herself into a seat, dropped her head upon her hand, and exclaimed, "The Queen of Scots is the mother of a fair son, and I am but a barren stock." Bitter words!—how bitter those only knew who had watched her in the seven years' struggle between passion and duty.

Sir James Melville announces the birth of James.

She could have borne it better perhaps had her own scheme been carried out for a more complete self-sac-

8. "The French King will keep Calais against his pact.

9. "The Queen of Scots pretendeth title to the crown of England, and so did never foreign prince since the Conquest.

10. "The Pope also, and all his parties, are watching adversaries to this crown."—*Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I. p. 444.

<sup>1</sup> It was probably at this time Appleyard made his confession that "he had covered his sister's murder," and that Sir Thomas Blount was secretly examined by the Council. There is little room for doubt that the menace of exposure was the instrument made use of to prevent Elizabeth from ruining herself.—*See* cap. 4.



rifice, and had Leicester been the father of the future king. Then at least she would have seen her darling honoured and great; then she would have felt secure of her rival's loyalty and of the triumph of those great principles of English freedom for which she had fought her long, and as it now seemed, her losing battle. The Queen of Scots had challenged her crown, intrigued with her subjects, slighted her councils, and defied her menaces, and this was the result.

But Elizabeth had been apprenticed in self-control. By morning she had overcome her agitation and was able to give Melville an audience.

The ambassador entered her presence radiant with triumph. The Queen affected, perhaps she forced herself to feel, an interest in his news, and she allowed him to jest upon the difficulty with which the prince had been brought into the world. "I told her," he reported afterwards,<sup>1</sup> "that the Queen of Scots had dearly bought her child, being so sore handled that she wished she had never been married. This I said by the way to give her a scare from marriage and from Charles of Austria." Elizabeth smiled painfully and spoke as graciously as she could, though Melville believed that at heart she was burning with envy and disappointment. The trial was doubtless frightful, and the struggle to brave it may have been but half successful; yet when he pressed her to delay the recognition no longer, she seemed to feel that she could not refuse, and she promised to take the opinion of the lawyers without further hesitation. So great indeed had been the disappointment of English statesmen at the last trifling with the Archduke, that they had abandoned hope. The Scottish Prince was the sole object of their

<sup>1</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

interest, and all the motives which before had recommended Mary Stuart were working with irresistible force. Whatever might be the Queen's personal reluctance, Melville was able to feel that it would avail little; the cause of his mistress, if her game was now played with tolerable skill, was virtually won. Norfolk declared for her, Pembroke declared for her, no longer caring to conceal their feelings; even Leicester, now that his own chances were over, became "The Queen of Scots' avowed friend," and pressed her claims upon Elizabeth, "alleging that to acknowledge them would be her greatest security, and that Cecil would undo all."<sup>1</sup> All that Melville found necessary was to give his mistress a few slight warnings and cautions.

July.  
Increase of  
the party of  
the Queen of  
Scots in  
England.

Her recognition as second person he knew that she regarded as but a step to the dethronement of Elizabeth; nor did he advise her to abandon her ambition. He did not wish her to slacken her correspondence with the Catholics; she need not cease "to entertain O'Neil;" but he required her only to be prudent and secret. "Seeing the great mark her Majesty shot at, she should be careful and circumspect, that her desires being so near to be obtained should not be overthrown for lack of management."<sup>2</sup>

Schooled for once by advice, Mary Stuart wrote from her sick bed to Melville's brother Robert. The letter appeared to be meant only for himself, but it was designed to be shown among the Protestant nobility of England. She declared in it that she meant nothing but toleration in religion, nothing but good in all ways; she protested that she had no concealed designs, no unavowed wishes; her highest ambition went

<sup>1</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

no farther than to be recognized by Parliament, with the consent of her dear sister.

With these words in their hands, the Melvilles made swift progress in England. Elizabeth's uncertainties and changes had shaken her truest friends; and even before Parliament some popular demonstrations were looked for.

“There are threats of disturbance,” De Silva wrote in August, “and trouble is looked for before the meeting of Parliament. For the present we are reassured, but it is likely enough that something will happen. The Queen is out of favour with all sides: the Catholics hate her because she is not a Papist, the Protestants, because she is less furious and violent in heresy than they would like to see her; while the courtiers complain of her parsimony.”<sup>1</sup> James Melville was soon able to send the gratifying assurance to the Queen of Scots that should Elizabeth continue the old excuses and delays “her friends were so increased that many whole shires were ready to rebel, and their captains already named by election of the nobility.”<sup>2</sup>

In such a world and with such humours abroad, the approaching session could not fail to be a stormy one; and Elizabeth knew, though others might affect to be ignorant, that if she was forced into a recognition of Mary Stuart, a Catholic revolution would not be many months distant.

At the beginning of August, to gather strength and spirit for the struggle, she went on progress, not to the northern counties, where the Queen of Scots had hoped to meet her, but first to Stamford, on a visit to Cecil,

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, August 23, 1566: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

thence round to Woodstock, her old prison in the perilous days of her sister, and finally, on the evening of the 31st, she paid Oxford the honour which <sup>Elizabeth at Oxford.</sup> two years before she had conferred on the sister University. The preparations for her visit were less gorgeous, the reception itself far less imposing ; yet the fairest of her cities, in its autumnal robe of sad and mellow loveliness, suited the Queen's humour, and her stay there had a peculiar interest.

She travelled in a carriage. At Wolvercot, three miles out on the Woodstock road, she was met by the heads of houses in their gowns and hoods. The approach was by the long north avenue leading to the north gate ; and as she drove along it she saw in front of her the black tower of Bocardo, where Cranmer had been long a prisoner, and the ditch where, with his brother martyrs, he had given his life for the sins of the people. The scene was changed from that chill, sleety morning, and the soft glow of the August sunset was no unfitting symbol of the change of times ; yet how soon such another season might tread upon the heels of the departing summer none knew better than Elizabeth. She went on under the archway and up the corn-market, between rows of shouting students. The students cried in Latin, "*Vivat Regina.*" Elizabeth, amidst bows and smiles, answered in Latin also, "*Gratias ago, gratias ago.*"

At Carfax, where Bishop Longlands forty years before had burnt Tyndal's Testaments, a professor greeted her with a Greek speech, to which, with unlooked for readiness, she replied again in the same language. A few more steps brought her down to the great gate of Christ Church, the splendid monument of Wolsey and of the glory of the age that was gone.

She left the carriage, and with De Silva at her side, she walked under a canopy across the magnificent quadrangle to the Cathedral. The dean, after evening service, entertained her at his house.

The days of her stay were spent as at Cambridge — in hearing plays, or in attending the exercises of the University. The subjects chosen for dispu-

September.  
Disputations  
in the  
schools.

tation in the schools mark the balance of the two streams of ancient and modern thought, and show the matter with which the rising mind of England was beginning to occupy itself. There were discussions on the tides — whether or how far they were caused by the attraction of the moon. There were arguments on the currency — whether a debt contracted when the coin was pure could be liquidated by the payment of debased money of the same nominal value. The keener intellects were climbing the stairs of the temple of Modern Science, though as yet they were few and feeble, and they were looked upon askance with orthodox suspicion. At their side the descendants of the schoolmen were working on the old safe methods, proving paradoxes by laws of logic amidst universal applause. The Professor of Medicine maintained in the Queen's presence that it was not the province of the physician to cure disease, because diseases were infinite, and the infinite was beyond the reach of art; or again, because medicine could not retard age, and age ended in death, and therefore medicine could not preserve life. With trifles such as these the second childhood of the authorities was content to drowse away the hours. More interesting than either science or logic were perilous questions of politics, which Elizabeth permitted to be agitated before her.

The Puritan formula that it was lawful to take arms against a bad sovereign was argued by examples from the Bible and from the stories of the patriot tyrannicides of Greece and Rome. Doctor Humfrey deserted his friends to gain favour with the Queen, and protested his horror of rebellion ; but the defenders of the rights of the people held their ground and remained in possession of it. Pursuing the question into the subtleties of theology, they even ventured to say that God himself might instigate a regicide, when Bishop Jewel who was present, stepped down into the dangerous arena and closed the discussion with a vindication of the divine right of kings.

More critically — even in that quiet haven of peaceful thought — the great subject of the day which Elizabeth called her death-knell, still pursued her. An eloquent student discoursed on the perils to which a nation was exposed when the sovereign died with no successor declared. The comparative advantages were argued of elective and hereditary monarchy. Each side had its hot defenders ; and though the votes of the University were in favour of the natural laws of succession, the champion of election had the best of the argument, and apparently best pleased the Queen. When in the peroration of his speech he said he would maintain his opinion “ with his life, and if need were with his death,”<sup>1</sup> she exclaimed, “ Excellent — oh, excellent ! ”

At the close of the exercises she made a speech in Latin as at Cambridge. She spoke very simply, deprecating the praises which had been heaped upon her. She had been educated well, she said, though the seed had fallen on a barren soil ; but she loved study if she

<sup>1</sup> “ Hoc vitâ et si opus est et morte comprobabo.”

had not profited by it, and for the Universities she would do her best that they should flourish while she lived, and after her death continue long to prosper.

So five bright days passed swiftly, and on the sixth she rode away over Magdalen Bridge to Windsor. As she crested Headington Hill she reined in her horse and once more looked back. There at her feet lay the city in its beauty, the towers and spires springing from amidst the clustering masses of the college elms; there wound beneath their shade the silvery lines of the Cherwell and the Isis.

“Farewell, Oxford!” she cried, “farewell, my good subjects there! — farewell, my dear scholars, and may God prosper your studies! — farewell, farewell!”<sup>1</sup>

The Queen of Scots meanwhile had recovered rapidly from her confinement, and it seemed as if she had now but to sit still and wait for the fortune which time had so soon to bestow; yet Melville on his return to Scotland found her less contented than he expected. The Pope, if it was true that she had desired a divorce from her husband, had not smiled upon her wishes; and Melville’s well-meant efforts to console her for her domestic troubles with her prospects in England failed wholly of their effect. Five days after James’s birth

Position of  
Darnley.

Killigrew reported that although Darnley was in the castle and his father in Edinburgh, “small account was made of them;” Murray, though he continued at the court, “found his credit small and his state scarce better than when he looked daily for banishment;” Maitland was still a fugitive, and his estates, with the splendid royalties of Dunbar, were in possession of Bothwell; “Bothwell’s credit with the Queen was more than all the rest together.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicholls’s *Progresses of Elizabeth*.

<sup>2</sup> Killigrew to Cecil, June 24.

It seemed as if Mary Stuart, brave as she might be, in that stormy sea of faction and conspiracy required a man's arm to support her: she wanted some one on whose devotion she could depend to shield her from a second night of terror, and such a man she had found in Bothwell — the boldest, the most reckless, the most unprincipled of all the nobles in Scotland. Her choice, though imprudent, was not unnatural. Bothwell from his earliest manhood had been her mother's stanchest friend; Bothwell, when the English army was before Leith — though untroubled with faith in Pope, or Church, or God, had been more loyal than the Catholic Lords; and though at that time but a boy of twenty-two, he had fought the cause of France and of Mary of Lorraine when Huntly and Seton were standing timidly aloof. Afterwards when Mary Stuart returned, and Murray and Maitland ruled Scotland, Bothwell continued true to his old colours, and true to the cause which the Queen of Scots in her heart was cherishing. Hating England, hating the Reformers, hating Murray above all living men, he had early conceived projects of carrying off his mistress by force from their control — nor was she herself supposed to have been ignorant of his design. The times were then unripe, and Bothwell had retired from Scotland to spend his exile at the French court, in the home of Mary Stuart's affection; and when he came back to her out of that polished and evil atmosphere, she found his fierce northern nature varnished with a thin coating of Parisian culture, saturated with Parisian villany, and the Earl himself with the single virtue of devotion to his mistress, as before he had been devoted to her mother. Her own nature was altogether higher than Bothwell's; yet courage, strength, and a

July.  
Mary Stuart  
and Both-  
well.



readiness to face danger and dare crime for their sakes, attract some women more than intellect however keen, or grace however refined. The affection of the Queen of Scots for Bothwell is the best evidence of her innocence with Ritzio.

As soon as she had become strong enough to move she left the close hot atmosphere of the Castle, and at the end of July, attended by her cavalier, she spent her days upon the sea or at the Castle of Alloa on the Forth. She had condescended to acquaint Darnley with her intention of going, but with no desire that he should accompany her; and when he appeared uninvited at Alloa he was ordered back to the place from which he came. "The Queen and her husband," wrote the Earl of Bedford on the 3d of August, "agree after the old manner. It cannot for modesty nor for the honour of a Queen be reported what she said of him."<sup>1</sup> Sir James Melville, who dreaded the effect in England of the alienation of the friends of Lady Lennox, again remonstrated and attempted to cure the slight with some kind of attention. But Melville was made to feel that he was going beyond his office: in her violent moods Mary Stuart would not be trifled with, and at length he received a distinct order "to be no more familiar with the Lord Darnley."<sup>2</sup> Water parties and hunting parties in the Highlands consumed the next few weeks. Though inexorable towards her husband, the Queen as the summer went on found it necessary to take her brother into favour again, and to gain the confidence of the English Protestants by affecting a readiness to be guided by his advice. Maitland's peace had been

August.  
Pardon of  
Maitland.

<sup>1</sup> Bedford to Cecil, August 3: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> Melville's *Memoirs*.

made also though with more difficulty. Bothwell, who was in possession of his estates, refused to part with them; and in a stormy scene in the Queen's presence Murray told him "that twenty as honest men as he should lose their lives ere he rest Lidington."<sup>1</sup> The Queen felt however that her demand for recognition in England would be effective in proportion to the unanimity with which she was supported by her own nobility; she felt the want of Maitland's help; and visiting her resentment for the death of Ritzio on her miserable husband alone, she was ready to forget the share which Maitland had borne in it, and exerted herself to smooth down and reconcile the factions at the court. She contrived to bring Maitland, Murray, Argyle, and Bothwell secretly together; "the matter in dispute" was talked over, and at last amicably settled.<sup>2</sup>

From Maitland to Morton was a short step. The Lords now all combined to entreat his pardon from the Queen, and in the restoration to favour of the nobles whom he had invited to revenge his own imagined wrongs, and had thus deserted and betrayed, the miserable King read his own ruin. One after another he had injured them all; and his best hope was in their contempt. Even Murray's face he had good cause to dread. He with Ritzio had before planned Murray's murder, and now seeing Murray at the Queen's side he let fall some wild passionate words as if he would again try to kill him. So at least the Queen reported, for it was she who carried the story to Murray, "and willed the Earl to speer it at the King;" it was believed afterwards that she desired to create a quarrel which would rid her of

September.  
Terror and  
folly of  
Darnley.

<sup>1</sup> Advertisements out of Scotland, August, 1566: *M.S. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Maitland to Cecil, September 20: *M.S. Ibid.*

one or both of the two men whom she hated worst in Scotland. But if this was her object she had mistaken her brother's character; Murray was not a person to trample on the wretched or stoop to ignoble game; he spoke to Darnley "very modestly" in the Queen's presence; and the poor boy might have yet been saved could he have thrown himself on the confidence of the one noble-hearted person within his reach. He muttered only some feeble apology, however, and fled from the court "very grieved." He could not bear, so some one wrote, "that the Queen should use familiarity with man or woman, especially the Lords of Argyle and Murray, which kept most company with her."<sup>1</sup>

Lennox, as much neglected as his son, was living privately at Glasgow, and between Glasgow and Stirling the forlorn Darnley wandered to and fro "mislaked of all," helpless and complaining, and nursing vague impossible schemes of revenge. He had signed the articles by which he bound himself to maintain the Reformation; he now dreamt of taking from Mary the defence of the Church. He wrote to the Pope and to Philip complaining that the Queen of Scots had ceased to care for religion, and that they must look to him only for the restoration of Catholicism. His letters, instead of falling harmless by going where they were directed, were carried to Mary, and might have aggravated her animosity against him had it admitted of aggravation. Still more terrified, he then thought of flying from the kingdom. The Scotch Council was about to meet in Edinburgh in the middle of September; the Queen desired that he would attend the session with her; he refused, and as soon as she was gone

<sup>1</sup> Advertisements out of Scotland, August, 1586: *MS. Rolls House.*

he made arrangements to escape in an English vessel which was lying in the Forth. "In a sort of desperation" he communicated his project to the French ambassador Du Croq, who had remained after the Queen's departure at Stirling. He told him, it seems, that he should go to the Scilly Isles; perhaps like Sir Thomas Seymour with a notion of becoming a pirate chief there. When Du Croq questioned him on his reasons for such a step he complained "that the Queen would give him no authority;" "all the lords had abandoned him," he said; "he had no hope in Scotland, and he feared for his life."

Darnley  
proposes to  
fly to Eng-  
land.

Better far it would have been had they allowed him to go, better for himself, better for Mary Stuart, better for human history which would have escaped the inky stain which blots its page; yet his departure at such a time and in such a manner would attract inconvenient notice in England — it would be used in Parliament in the debate on the succession. Du Croq carried word to Mary Stuart. Lennox, after endeavouring in vain to dissuade him, wrote to her also, in the hope that he might appease her by giving proofs of his own loyalty; and Darnley, finding his purpose betrayed, followed the French ambassador to Edinburgh, and on the evening of the 29th of September presented himself at the gates of Holyrood. He sent in word of his arrival — but he said he would not enter as long as Murray, Argyle, and Maitland were in the palace. The Queen went out to him, carried him to her private apartments, and kept him there for the night. The next morning the council met and he was brought or led into their presence. There they sat — a hard ring of stony faces: on one side the Lords of the Congregation who had risen in insurrection to prevent

Darnley  
before the  
Scotch  
Council

his marriage with the Queen, whom afterwards he had pledged his honour to support, and whom he had again betrayed — now by some inexplicable turn of fortune restored to honour while he was himself an outcast ; on the other side Huntly, Caithness, Bothwell, Athol, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, all Catholics, all Ritzio's friends, yet hand in hand now with their most bitter enemies, united heart and soul to secure the English succession for a Scotch Princess, and pressing with the weight of unanimity on the English Parliament ; yet he who had been brought among them in the interest of that very cause was excluded from share or concern in the prize ; every noble present had some cause of mortal enmity against him ; and as he stood before them desolate and friendless, he must have felt how short a shrift was allowed in Scotland for a foe whose life was inconvenient.

The letter of the Earl of Lennox was read aloud. Mary Stuart said that she had tried in vain to draw from her husband the occasion of his dissatisfaction ; she trusted that he would tell the Lords what he had concealed from herself ; and then turning to him with clasped hands like a skilled actress on the stage, "Speak," she said, "speak ; say what you complain of ; if the blame is with me do not spare me."

The Lords followed, assuring him with icy politeness that if he had any fault to find they would see it remedied.

Du Croq implored him to take no step which would touch his own honour or the Queen's.

What could he say ? Could he tell the truth, that he believed his Royal Mistress and those honourable Lords were seeking how to rid the world of him ? That was his fear ; and she and they and he alike

knew it — but such thoughts could not be spoken. And yet he had spirit enough to refuse to cringe or to stand at the bar to be questioned as a prisoner. He said a few unmeaning words and turned to go, and they did not dare detain him. “Adieu, Madam,” he said as he left the room, “you will not see my face for a long space ; gentlemen, adieu.”<sup>1</sup>

Four days later they heard that the ship was ready in which he was about to sail ; and it appears as if they had resolved to let him go. But in an evil hour for himself he had another interview with the French ambassador ; Du Croq, after a long conversation, persuaded him that the clouds would clear away and that fortune would again look beneficently upon him. The English ship sailed away, and Darnley remained behind to drift upon destruction, “hated,” as Du Croq admitted, “by all men and by all parties — because being what he was he desired to be as he had been and to rule as a king.”<sup>2</sup> In him the murderers of Rizzio found a scapegoat, and the Queen accepted with seeming willingness the vicarious sacrifice. The political relations between England and Scotland relapsed into their old bearings. Maitland was found again corresponding with the English ministers on the old subject of the union of the realms, while the Queen of Scots herself wrote to Cecil with affected confidence and cordiality, just touching — enough to show that she understood it — on the treachery of Rokeby, but professing to believe that Cecil wished well to her and would assist her to gain her cause.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Du Croq to the Archbishop of Glasgow ; October 15 ; The Lords of Scotland to the Queen-mother of France, October 8 : Printed in Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Du Croq to the Queen-mother of France, October 17 : Teulet, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Maitland to Cecil, October 4 ; The Queen of Scots to Cecil, October 5 : *MS. Rolls House.*

So stood the several parties in the two kingdoms when Elizabeth returned from her progress and prepared to meet her Parliament.<sup>1</sup> Four years had passed since the last troubled session: spring after spring, autumn after autumn, notice of a Parliament had gone out; but ever at the last moment Elizabeth had flinched, knowing well what lay before her. Further delay was at last impossible: the Treasury was empty, the humour of the people was growing dangerous. Thus at last on the 30th of September the Houses reassembled. The first fortnight was spent in silent preparations; on the 14th the campaign opened with a petition from the bishops, which was brought forward in the form of a statute in the House of Commons. It will be remembered that after the Bill was passed in the last session empowering the Anglican prelates to tender the vote of allegiance to their predecessors

October.  
Meeting of  
the English  
Parliament.

The  
Bishops'  
Bill.

<sup>1</sup> An entry in the *Privy Council Register* shows how anxiously the English Government were still watching the Queen of Scots, and how little they trusted her assurances.

October 8, 1566.

"A letter to Sir John Foster, Warden of the Middle Marches, touching the intelligence received out of Scotland of the sending of the Earl of Argyle towards Shan O'Neil with a hundred soldiers of those that were about the Scottish Queen's own person, with commission also to levy all his own people and the people of the Isles to assist Shan against the Queen's Majesty. And because the understanding of the truth of this matter is of great importance, and necessary to be bouted out with speed, he is required that under pretence of some other message he take occasion to send with convenient speed some discreet person to the Scottish Court, to procure by all the best means he may to bouted out the very certainty hereof. And in case he shall find indeed that the said advertisements are true, then to demand audience of the Scottish Queen and to deliver unto her the Queen's Majesty's letter,\* sent herewith, requiring answer with speed; and in case he shall find the said enterprise is intended only, and not executed, then he shall procure to stay the same by the best means he may."

\* Not found.

in the Tower, they had been checked in their first attempt to put the law in execution by a denial of the sacredness of their consecration, and the judges had confirmed the objection. To obviate this difficulty, and to enable the bench at last to begin their work of retaliation, a Bill was brought in declaring that "inasmuch as the bishops of the Church of England had been nominated according to the provisions of the Act of Henry the Eighth,<sup>1</sup> and had been consecrated according to the form provided in the Prayer-book, they should be held to have been duly and lawfully appointed, any statute, law, or canon to the contrary notwithstanding." In this form, untrammelled by further condition, the Act went from the Commons to the Lords, and had it passed in its first form there would have been an immediate renewal of the attempt to persecute. The Lords, however, were better guardians than the Commons of English liberties. Out of 81 peers, 22 were the bishops themselves, who as the promoters of the Bill unquestionably voted for it in its fulness; yet it was sent back, perhaps as an intimation that there had been enough of spiritual tyranny, and that the Church of England was not to disgrace itself with imitating the iniquities of Rome. A proviso was added that the Act should be retrospective only as it affected the general functions of the episcopal office,<sup>2</sup> but was not to be construed as giving valid-

<sup>1</sup> 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.

<sup>2</sup> "Provided always that no person or persons shall at any time hereafter be impeached or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or means of any certificate by any Archbishop or Bishop heretofore made, or before the last day of this present Session of Parliament to be made by authority of any Act passed in the first session of this present Parliament, touching or concerning the refusal of the oath declared and set forth by Act of Parliament in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady the Queen: and that all tenders of the said oath made by any Archbishop or



ity to the requisition of the oath of allegiance in the episcopal courts, or as giving the bishops power over the lives or lands of the prisoners who had refused to swear.<sup>1</sup> The Bill, although thus modified, left the bench with powers which for the future they might abuse; and although there was an understanding that those powers were not to be put in force, eleven lay peers still spoke and voted absolutely against admitting the episcopal position of men who had been thrust into already occupied sees.<sup>2</sup> To have thrown the measure out altogether, however, would have been equivalent to denying the Church of England a right to exist: it passed with this limitation, and the bishops, with a tacit intimation that they were on their good behaviour, were recognized as legitimate.

The Consecration Bill was, however, but a preliminary skirmish, preparatory to the great question which

Bishop aforesaid, or before the last day of the present Session to be made by authority of any Act established in the first Session of this present Parliament, and all refusals of the same oath so tendered, or before the last day of this present Session to be tendered by any Archbishop or Bishop by authority of any law established in the first Session of this present Parliament, shall be void, and of none effect or validity in the law." — *Statutes of the Realm*, 8 Eliz. cap. I.

<sup>1</sup> "La petición que se dió en el Parlamento por parte de los obispos Protestantes acerca de su confirmacion se pasó por la Camara baja sin contradiccion. En la alta tuvo once contradicciones, pero pasóse; no confirmandolo ellos sino á lo que hasta aqui se habia hecho en el ejercicio de su officio; con tanto que no se entendiese la confirmacion contra lo que hubiesen hecho ni podrian hacer en materia de sangre ni de bienes temporales. Lo de la sangre se entiende por el juramento que pedian á Bonner el buen Obispo de Londres, y á otros, acerca de lo de la religion, que es por lo que principalmente dicen que pedian la confirmacion; aunque daban á entender que por otros fines lo de bienes temporales han sentido; pero no fué segun entiendo este el intento; sino que obviar á que no les pierdan los, que no querian hacer el juramento." — De Silva to the King, November 11, 1560: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Non-contents — Earls Northumberland, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Sussex; Lords Montague, Morley, Dudley, Darcy, Mounteagle, Cromwell, and Mordaunt.

both Houses, with opposite purposes, were determined to bring forward. The House of Commons was the same which had been elected at the beginning of the reign in the strength of the Protestant reaction. The oscillation of public feeling had left the majority of the members unaffected; they were still anxious to secure the reversion of the crown to the dying Lady Catherine and her children; and the tendencies of the country generally in favour of the Scotch succession made them more desirous than ever not to let the occasion pass through their hands. The House of Lords was in the interest of Mary Stuart, but some divisions had been already created by her quarrel with Darnley. The Commons perhaps thought that although the peers might prefer the Queen of Scots, they would acquiesce in the wife of Lord Hertford sooner than endure any more uncertainty; the Peers may have hoped the same in favour of their own candidate: they may have felt assured that when the question came once to be discussed, the superior right of the Queen of Scots, the known opinions of the lawyers in her favour, the scarcely concealed preference of the great body of English gentlemen, with the political advantages which would follow on the union of the crowns, must inevitably turn the scale for Mary Stuart, whatever the Commons might will. Both Houses at all events were determined to bear Elizabeth's vacillation no longer, to believe no more in promises which were made only to be broken, and either to decide once for all the future fortunes of England, or lay such a pressure on the Queen that she should be forbidden to trifle any more with her subjects' anxiety for her marriage.

On the 17th of October Cecil brought forward in

the Lower House a statement of the expenses of the French and Irish wars. On the 18th Mr. Molyneux, a barrister, proposed at once, amidst universal approbation, "to revive the suit for the succession," and to consider the demands of the exchequer only in connexion with the determination of an heir to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth's first desire was to stifle the discussion at its commencement. Sir Ralph Sadler rose when Molyneux sat down, and "after divers propositions" "declared that he had heard the Queen say in the presence of the nobility that her highness minded to marry." Sadler possessed the confidence of the Protestants, and from him, if from any one, they would have accepted a declaration with which so steady an opponent of the Queen of Scots was satisfied; but the disappointment of the two previous sessions had taught them the meaning of words of this kind; a report of something said elsewhere to "the nobility" would not meet the present irritation; "their mind was to continue their suit, and to know her Highness's answer."

Elizabeth found it necessary to be more specific. The next day, first Cecil, then Sir Francis Knowles, then Sir Ambrose Cave declared formally that "the Queen by God's special providence was moved to marry, that she minded for the wealth of the commons to prosecute the same, and persuaded to see the sequel of that before further suit touching the succession."<sup>2</sup> Cecil and Cave were good Protestants, Knowles was an advanced Puritan, yet they were no more successful than Sadler; "the lawyers" still insisted; the House went with them in de-

<sup>1</sup> "October 18. — Motion made by Mr. Molyneux for the reviving of the suit for the succession, and to proceed with the subsidy, was very well allowed by the House." — *Commons' Journals*, 8 Eliz.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

The Queen,  
to prevent  
a debate,  
promises to  
marry.

clining to endure any longer a future which depended on the possible "movements" of the Queen's mind; and a vote was carried to press the question to an issue, and to invite the Lords to a conference. The Lords, as eager as the Commons, instantly acquiesced. Public business was suspended, and committees of the two Houses sat daily for a fortnight, preparing an address to the crown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cecil, who was a member of the Commons' Committee, has left a paper of notes touching the main points of the situation:—

"October, 1566.

"To require both marriage and the stablishing of the succession is the uttermost that can be desired.

"To deny both the uttermost that can be denied.

"To require marriage is most natural, most easy, most plausible to the Queen's Majesty.

"To require certainty of succession is most plausible to all people.

"To require the succession is hardest to be obtained, both for the difficulty to discuss the right and the loathsomeness of the Queen's Majesty to consent thereto.

"The difficulty to discuss it is by reason of—

1. "The uncertainty of indifferency in the parties that shall discuss it.

2. "The uncertainty of the right pretended.

"The loathsomeness to grant it is by reason of natural suspicion against a successor that hath right by law to succeed.

"Corollarium.

"The mean betwixt them is to determine effectually to marry, and if it succeed not, then proceed to discussion of the right of succession." — *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XL.

Another paper, also in Cecil's hand, contains apparently a rough sketch for the address to the Crown:—

"That the marriage may proceed effectually.

"That it may be declared how necessary it is to have the succession established for sundry causes.

"Surety and quietness of the Queen's Majesty that no person may attempt anything to the furtherance of any supposed title when it shall be manifest how the right is settled. Whereunto may also be added sundry devices to stay every person in his duty, so as her Majesty may reign assuredly.

"The comfort of all good subjects that may remain assured, how and whom to obey lawfully, and how to avoid all errors in disobedience, whereby civil wars may be avoided.

"And because presently it seemeth very uncomfortable to the Queen's Majesty to hear of this at this time, and that it is hoped that God will direct

In spite of her struggles the Queen saw the net closing round her. Fair speeches were to serve her turn no longer, and either she would have to endure some husband whom she detested the very thought of, or submit to a settlement the result of which it was easy to foresee. Into her feelings, or into such aspect of them as she chose to exhibit, we once more gain curious insight through a letter of De Silva. So distinctly was Elizabeth's marriage the object of the present move of the House of Commons that the Queen of Scots, in dread of it, was contented to withdraw the pressure for a determination in her own favour, and consented to bide her time.

#### GUZMAN DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.<sup>1</sup>

October 28.

"The Parliament is in full debate on the succession. The Queen is furious about it; she is advised that if the question come to a vote in the Lower House the greatest number of voices will be for the Lady Catherine. This lady and her husband, Lord Hertford, are Protestants; and a large number, probably an actual majority of the Commons, being heretics also, will declare for her in self-defence.

"I have never ceased to urge upon the Queen the inconvenience and danger to which she will be exposed if a successor is declared, and on

her heart to think more comfortably hereof, it may be required that her marriage may proceed with all convenient speed; and that if her Majesty cannot condescend to enter into the disquisition and stablishing of the succession in this Session, that yet for the satisfaction of her people she will prorogue this Parliament until another short time, within which it may be seen what God will dispose of her marriage, and then to begin her Parliament again, and to proceed in such sort as shall seem meetest then for the matter of succession, which may with more satisfaction be done to her Majesty if she shall then be married." — *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Simancas.*

the other hand her perfect security as soon as she has children of her own. She understands all this fully, and she told me three days ago that she would never consent. The Parliament, she said, had offered her two hundred and fifty thousand pounds as the price of her acquiescence ; but she had refused to accept anything on conditions. She had requested a subsidy for the public service in Ireland and elsewhere, and it should be given freely and graciously or not at all. She says she will not yield one jot to them, let them do what they will ; she means to dissemble with them and hear what they have to say, so that she may know their views, and the lady which each declares for<sup>1</sup> — meaning the Queen of Scots and Lady Catherine. I told her that if she would but marry, all this worry would be at an end. She assured me she would send this very week to the Emperor and settle everything ; and yet I learn from Sir Thomas Heeneage, who is the person hitherto most concerned in the Archduke affair, that she has grown much cooler about it.

“The members of the Lower House are almost all Protestants, and seeing the Queen in such a rage at them, I took occasion to point out to her the true character of this new religion, which will endure no rule and will have everything at its own pleasure without regard to the sovereign authority ; it was time for her to see to these things, and I bade her observe the contrast between these turbulent heretics and the quiet and obedience of her Catholic subjects. She said she could not tell what those devils were after.<sup>2</sup> They want liberty, madam, I replied, and if princes do not

<sup>1</sup> “Por conocer las voluntades y saber la dama de cada uno.”

<sup>2</sup> “Respondióme que no sabía que querían *estos demonios*.”

look to themselves and work in concert to put them down, they will find before long what all this is coming to.<sup>1</sup>

"She could not but agree with me : she attempted a defence of her own subjects, as if there was some justice in their complaints of the uncertainty of the succession ; but she knows at heart what it really means, and by and by when she finds them obstinate she will understand it better. I told her before that I knew they would press her, and she would not believe me.

"Melville, the agent of the Queen of Scots, was with me yesterday. Her disagreement with her husband is doing her much mischief here ; yet that Queen has so much credit with the good all over the realm, that the blame is chiefly laid on the Lord Darnley. I have told Melville to urge upon them the necessity of reconciliation ; and I have written to the Commendador Major of Castile at Rome to speak to the Pope about it, and to desire his Holiness to send them his advice to the same effect. Melville tells me the Lords there are working together wonderfully well. He has given this Queen to understand that since she is reluctant to have the succession discussed, his mistress is so anxious to please her that she will not press for it ; she will only ask that if the question is forced forward after

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth had before affected to be alarmed at the revolutionary tendencies of Protestantism. On the 15th of the preceding July, De Silva wrote —

"The Queen must be growing anxious. She often says to me that she wonders at the tendency of subjects now-a-days to anarchy and revolution. I invariably reply that this is the beginning, middle, and end of the inventors of new religions. They have an eye only to their own interests ; they care neither for God nor law, as they show by their works ; and princes ought to take order among themselves and unite to chastise their excesses." *MS. Simancas.*

all, she may have notice in time that she may send some one to plead in her behalf.

"This Queen is full of gratitude for her forbearance; she has told her that her present resolution is to keep the matter quiet; should her endeavours be unsuccessful, however, the Queen of Scots shall have all the information and all the help which she herself can give.

"Melville learns from a private source that this Queen will fail in her object. The question will be forced in the Queen of Scots' interest, and with the best intentions. Her friends are very numerous; we shall soon see how things go."

Melville's information was right. Having failed in full Parliament, Elizabeth tried next to work on the committee. The Marquis of Winchester was put forward to prevent the intended address. He brought to bear the weight of an experience which was older than the field of Bosworth; but he was listened to with impatience; not a single voice either from Peers or Commons was found to second him. Unable to do anything through others, the Queen sent for the principal noblemen concerned, to remonstrate with them herself in private.

Both Houses  
determine to  
press for a  
settlement.

The Duke of Norfolk was the first called, and rumour said, though she herself afterwards denied the words, that she called him traitor and conspirator. Leicester, Pembroke, Northampton, and Lord William Howard came next. Norfolk had complained of his treatment to Pembroke: Pembroke told her that the Duke was a good friend both to the realm and to herself; if she would not listen to advice and do what the service of the commonwealth required, they must do it themselves.

Elizabeth  
sends separately  
for the Lords.



She was too angry to argue ; she told Pembroke he spoke like a foolish soldier, and knew not what he was saying. Then seeing Leicester at his side, "You, my lord," she said, "you ! If all the world forsook me I thought that you would be true !"

"Madam," Leicester said, "I am ready to die at your feet !"

"What has that to do with it ?" she answered.

"And you, my Lord Northampton," she went on, turning from one to the other, — "you, who when you had a wife of your own already could quote Scripture texts to help you to another ;<sup>1</sup> you forsooth must meddle with marriages for me ! You might employ yourself better I think."

She could make nothing of them nor they of her. Both Queen and Lords carried their complaints to De Silva ; the Lords urging him to use his influence to force her into taking the Archduke ; Elizabeth complaining of their insolence, and especially of the ingratitude of Leicester. Her very honour, she said, had suffered for the favour which she had shown to Leicester ; and now she would send him to his house in the country, and the Archduke should have nothing to be jealous of.<sup>2</sup>

The committee went on with the work. On the 2d of November the form of the address was still undetermined ; they were undecided whether to insist most on the marriage, or on the nomination, or on both. In some shape or other, however, a petition of a serious kind would unquestionably be presented, and Elizabeth prepared to receive it

<sup>1</sup> Northampton's divorce and second marriage had been one of the great scandals of the days of Edward.

<sup>2</sup> De Silva to Philip, November 4: *MS. Simancas*.

with as much self-restraint as she could command. Three days later she understood that the deliberations were concluded. To have the interview over as soon as possible Elizabeth sent for the committee at once; and on the afternoon of the 5th of November, "by her Highness's special commandment," twenty-five lay Peers, the Bishops of Durham and London, and thirty members of the Lower House presented themselves at the palace at Westminster.

The address was read by Bacon.

After grateful acknowledgments of the general government of the Queen, the two Houses <sup>Presentation of the address.</sup> desired, first, to express their wish that her Highness would be pleased to marry "where it should please her, with whom it should please her, and as soon as it should please her."

Further, as it was possible that her Highness might die without children, her faithful subjects were anxious to know more particularly the future prospects of the realm. Much as they wished to see her married, the settlement of the succession was even more important, "carrying with it such necessity, that without it they could not see how the safety of her royal person or the preservation of her imperial crown and realm could be or should be sufficiently and certainly provided for." "Her late illness" (the Queen had been unwell again), "the amazedness that most men of understanding were by fruit of that sickness brought unto," and the opportunity of making a definite arrangement while Parliament was sitting, were the motives which induced them to be more urgent than they would otherwise have cared to be. History and precedent alike recommended a speedy decision. They hoped that she might live to have a child of her own; but she was

mortal, and should she die before her subjects knew to whom their allegiance was due, a civil war stared them in the face. The decease of a prince leaving the realm without a government was the most frightful disaster which could befall the commonwealth; with the vacancy of the throne all writs were suspended, all commissions were void, law itself was dead. Her Majesty was not ignorant of these things. If she refused to provide a remedy, "it would be a dangerous burden before God upon her Majesty!" They had therefore felt it to be their duty to present this address; and on their knees they implored her to consider it and to give them an answer before the session closed."<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth had prepared her answer; as soon as Bacon ceased, she drew herself up and spoke as follows:—

“If the order of your cause had matched the weight  
Elizabeth of your matter, the one might well have  
answers. craved reward, and the other much the  
sooner be satisfied. But when I call to mind how far  
from dutiful care, yea rather how nigh a traitorous  
trick this tumbling cast did spring, I muse how men  
of wit can so hardly use that gift they hold. I marvel  
not much that bridleless colts do not know their rider's  
hand whom bit of kingly rein did never snaffle yet.  
Whether it was fit that so great a cause as this should  
have had this beginning in such a public place as that,  
let it be well weighed. Must all evil bodings that  
might be recited be found little enough to hap to my  
share? Was it well meant, think you, that those that  
knew not how fit this matter was to be granted by the

<sup>1</sup> Dewes' *Journals*, 8 Eliz.

prince, would prejudicate their prince in aggravating the matter? so all their arguments tended to my careless care of this my dear realm."

So far she spoke from a form which remains in her own handwriting.<sup>1</sup> She continued perhaps in the same style; but her words remain only in the Spanish of De Silva.

"She was not surprised at the Commons," she said; "they had small experience and had acted like boys; but that the Lords should have gone along with them she confessed had filled her with wonder. There were some among them who had placed their swords at her disposal when her sister was on the throne, and had invited her to seize the crown; <sup>2</sup> She knew but too well that if she allowed a successor to be named, there would be found men who would approach him or her with the same encouragement to disturb the peace of the realm. If she pleased she could name the persons to whom she alluded. When time and circumstances would allow she would see to the matter of their petition before they asked her; she would be sorry to be forced into doing anything which in reason and justice she was bound to do; and she concluded with a request that her words should not be misinterpreted."

So long as she was speaking to the lay Peers she controlled her temper; but her passion required a safety-valve, and she rarely lost an opportunity of affronting and insulting her bishops.

<sup>1</sup> Answer to the Parliament by the Queen; Autograph: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> "Entre los cuales habia habido algunos que reynando su hermana le ofresian á ella ayuda y la querian mover á que quiesiese procurar en su vida la corona." — De Silva al Rey, 11 November, 1566: *MS. Simancas*. It is tolerably certain that the Queen used these words. De Silva heard them first from the Queen herself, and afterwards from the Lords who were present.

Turning sharp round where Grindal and Pilkington were standing —

“And you, *doctors*,” she said — it was her pleasure to ignore their right to a higher title<sup>1</sup> — “you, The Bishops. I understand, make long prayers about this business. One of you dared to say in times past that I and my sister were bastards; and you must needs be interfering in what does not concern you. Go home and amend your own lives, and set an honest example in your families. The Lords in Parliament should have taught you to know your places; but if they have forgotten their duty I will not forget mine. Did I so choose I might make the impertinence of the whole set of you an excuse to withdraw my promise to marry; but for the realm’s sake I am resolved that I will marry; and I will take a husband that will not be to the taste of some of you. I have not married hitherto out of consideration for you; but it shall be done now, and you who have been so urgent with me will find the effects of it to your cost. Think you the prince who will be my consort will feel himself safe with such as you, who thus dare to thwart and cross your natural Queen?”

She turned on her heel and sailed out of the hall of audience, vouchsafing no other word. At once she sent for De Silva, and after profuse thanks to himself and Philip for their long and steady kindness, swelling with anger as she was, she gave him to understand that her course was chosen at last and forever; she would accept the Archduke and would be all which Spain could desire.

<sup>1</sup> “Volviéndose á los obispos que se hallaron presentes á la platica, dijo, Vosotros doctores, no les llamando obispos, que haceis muchas oraciones,” &c.

Many of the peers came to her in the evening to make their excuses : they said that they had been misled by the Council, who had been the most in favour of the address ; and they had believed themselves to be acting as she had herself desired. The Upper House she might have succeeded in controlling ; but the Commons were in a more dangerous humour. They were prepared for a storm when they commenced the debate ; and they were not disposed to be lectured into submission. The next day Cecil rose in his place : the Queen, he said, had desired him to tell them that she was displeased, first, that the succession question should have been raised in that House without her consent having been first asked ; and secondly, because “ by the publication abroad of the necessity of the matter,” and the danger to the realm if it was left longer undecided, the responsibility of the refusal was thrown entirely upon her Majesty. The “ error ” she was ready to believe had risen chiefly from want of thought, and she was ready to overlook it. For the matter itself, her Highness thought that by her promises to marry she had rather deserved thanks than to be troubled with any new petition. “ The word of a prince spoken in a public place ” should have been taken as seriously meant ; and if her Majesty had before told them that she was unwilling, they should have been more ready to believe her when she said that she had made up her mind. Time and opportunity would prove her Majesty’s sincerity, and it was unkind to suppose that she would fail in producing children. Loyal subjects should hope the best. Her Majesty had confidence in God’s goodness ; and except for the assurance that she would have an heir, she would not marry at all. On this point she re-

Cecil tries  
to soothe the  
Commons.

quired the Houses to accept her word. For the succession she was not surprised at their uneasiness ; she was as conscious as they could be of the desirableness of a settlement. At the present moment, however, and in the existing state of parties in the realm, the thing was impossible, and she would hear no more of it.”<sup>1</sup>

The Queen expected that after so positive a declaration she would escape further annoyance ; but times were changing, and the relations with them between sovereigns and subjects. The House listened in silence, not caring to conceal its dissatisfaction. The Friday following, being the 8th of November, “ Mr. Lambert began a learned oration for iteration of the suit to the Queen on the succession.”<sup>2</sup>

Whether they were terrified by the spectre of a second York and Lancaster war, or whether they were bent on making an effort for Lady Hertford before they were dissolved and another House was elected in the Scottish interest, or whether they disbelieved Elizabeth’s promises to marry, notwithstanding the vehemence of her asseverations, the Commons seemed resolute at all hazards to persevere. Other speeches followed on the same side, expressing all of them the same fixed determination ; and matters were now growing serious. The Spanish ambassador never lost a chance of irritating the Queen against the Protestant party ; and on Saturday, stimulated by De Silva’s invectives, and convinced, perhaps with justice, that she was herself essentially right, Elizabeth sent down an order that the subject should be approached

The Commons are obstinate.

<sup>1</sup> Report made to the Commons’ House by Mr. Secretary: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> *Commons’ Journals.*

no further on pain of her displeasure. The same night a note was flung into the presence-chamber saying that the debate on the succession had been undertaken because the commonwealth required it, and that if the Queen interfered it might be the worse for her.<sup>1</sup>

In the most critical period of the reign of Henry the Eighth, speech in Parliament had been ostentatiously free; the Act of Appeals had been under discussion for two years and more; Catholic and Protestant had spoken their minds without restraint; yet among the many strained applications of the treason law no peer or commoner had been called to answer for words spoken by him in his place in the legislature. The Queen's injunction of silence had poured oil Question of privilege. into the fire, and raised a fresh and more dan-

gerous question of privilege. As soon as the House met again on Monday morning, Mr. Paul Wentworth rose to know whether such an order "was not against the liberties" of Parliament.<sup>2</sup> He and other members inquired whether a message sent by a public officer was authority sufficient to bind the House, or if neither the message itself nor the manner in which it was delivered was a breach of privilege, "what offence it was for any of the House to declare his opinion to be otherwise."<sup>3</sup> The debate lasted five hours, and (a rare if not unprecedented occurrence) was adjourned.

Elizabeth, more angry than ever, sent for the Speaker; she insisted "that there should be no further

<sup>1</sup> "Á n'rche echáron en la camera de presencia un escrito que contenia en sustancia que se habia tratado en el Parlamento de la sucesion porque convenia al bien del Reyno, y que si la Reyna no consentia que se tratase dello que veria algunas cosas que no le placieran."—De Silva to Philip, November 11: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journals*, 8 Eliz.

<sup>3</sup> Note of Proceedings in Parliament, November 11: *Domestic MSS. Eliz.*, Vol. XLI.



argument: " if any member of either House was dissatisfied he must give his opinion before the Council.

The Commons having gone so far had no intention of yielding; and De Silva watched the crisis with a malicious hope of a collision between the two Houses, and of both with the Queen. The Lower House, he said, was determined to name a successor, and was all but unanimous for Lady Catherine; the Peers were as decided for the Queen of Scots.<sup>1</sup> A dissolution would leave the Treasury without a subsidy, and could not be thought of save at the last extremity. On the return of the Speaker the Commons named a committee to draw up an answer, which though in form studiously courteous was in substance as deliberately firm.<sup>2</sup> The finishing touch was given to it by Cecil, and the sentences added in his hand were those which insisted most on the liberty of Parliament, and most justified the attitude which the Commons had assumed.

After thanking the Queen for her promise to marry, and assuring her that whatever she might think to the contrary they meant nothing but what became them as loyal subjects, they said that they submitted reluctantly to her resolution to postpone the settlement of the succession, *being most sorry that any manner of impediment had appeared to her Majesty so great as to stay her from proceeding in the same.*<sup>3</sup> They had however received a message implying " that they had deserved to be deprived, or at least seques-

<sup>1</sup> "Ellos pretenden libertad de proceder á lo del nombramiento de la sucesion en la qual en la camara superior tendra mucha parti la de Escocia; se tiene por cierto y assi lo creo que Caterina tendra casi todos los de la Camara baja, y assi parece que inclina todo á emocion." — De Silva to Philip, November 13: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Draft of an Address to the Queen, submitted to the Committee of the Commons' House: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI.

<sup>3</sup> The words in Italics were added by Cecil.

trated, *much to their discomfort and infamy*,<sup>1</sup> from their ancient and laudable custom, always from the beginning necessarily annexed to their assembly, and by her Majesty *always*<sup>2</sup> confirmed — that is, a lawful sufferance and dutiful liberty to treat and devise matters honourable to her Majesty and profitable to the realm." Before this message reached them "they had made no determination to deal in any way to her discontentation; they therefore besought her of her motherly love that they might continue in their course of duty, honouring and serving her like children, without any unnecessary, *unaccustomed*,<sup>3</sup> or undeserved yoke of commandment; so<sup>4</sup> should her Majesty continue the singular favour of her honour, wherein she did excel all monarchs, for ruling her subjects without misliking; and they also would enjoy the like praise above all other people for obeying without constraint — than the which no prince could desire more earthly honour, nor no people more earthly praise."

No one knew better than Elizabeth how to withdraw from an indefensible position, and words so full of firmness and dignity might perhaps have produced an effect; but before the address could be presented a fresh apple of discord was thrown into the arena.

A book had appeared in Paris, written by a refugee Scot named Patrick Adamson. The subject of it was the birth of James; and the Queen of Scots' child was described as the heir of the English throne. Copies had been scattered about

Patrick  
Adamson  
on the  
succession

<sup>1</sup> Added in Cecil's hand.

<sup>2</sup> The word first written was "graciously." Cecil scratched through "graciously," as if it implied that the liberties of the House of Commons depended on the pleasure of the Sovereign, and substituted "always."

<sup>3</sup> Cecil's hand.

<sup>4</sup> The conclusion is entirely Cecil's.

London, and Elizabeth had already directed Mary Stuart's attention to the thing "as a matter strange and not to be justified."<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st of November, on occasion of a measure laid before the House against the introduction of seditious books from abroad, a Mr. Dalton brought forward this production of Adamson in the fiercest Protestant spirit.

“How say you,” he exclaimed, “to a libel set forth in print calling the Infant of Scotland Prince of England, Scotland, and Ireland? Prince of England, Scotland, and Ireland! What enemy to the peace and quietness of the realm of England—what traitor to the crown of this realm hath devised, set forth, and published this dishonour against the Queen’s most excellent Majesty and the crown of England? Prince of England, and Queen Elizabeth as yet having no child!—Prince of England, and the Scottish Queen’s child!—Prince of Scotland and England, and Scotland before England! who ever heard or read that before this time? What true English heart may sustain to hear of this villany and reproach against the Queen’s highness and this her realm? It is so that it hath pleased her highness at this time to bar our speech; but if our mouths shall be stopped, and in the mean time such despite shall happen and pass without revenge, it will make the heart of a true Englishman break within his breast.”

“With the indignity of the matter being,” as he afterwards said, “set on fire,” Dalton went on to touch on dangerous matters, and entered on the forbidden

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Bedford, November 13: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*

subject of the Scottish title. The Speaker gently checked him, but not before he had uttered words which called out the whole sympathy of the Commons, and gave them an opportunity of showing how few friends in that house Mary Stuart as yet could count upon.<sup>1</sup>

The story was carried to the Queen; she chose to believe that the House of Commons intended to defy her; she ordered Dalton into arrest and had him examined before the Star Chamber; she construed her own orders into a law, and seemed determined to govern the House of Commons as if it was a debating society of riotous boys.

The Commons behaved with great forbearance: they replied to the seizure of the offending member by requesting "to have leave to confer upon the liberties of the House." The Commons demand a conference.

The original question of the succession was lost in the larger one of privilege, and the address which they had previously drawn seemed no longer distinct enough for the occasion. The Council implored Elizabeth to consider what she was doing. As soon as her anger cooled she felt herself that she had gone too far, and not caring to face a conference, "foreseeing that thereof must needs have ensued more inconvenience than were meet," she drew back with temper not too ruffled to save her dignity in giving way. Her intention had been to extort or demand the sanction of the House for the prosecution of Dalton. Discovering in time that if they refused she had no means of compelling them, she would not risk an open rupture. The prisoner was released "with- The Queen gives way.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dalton's Speech, according to the Report: *Domestic MSS.*, *Elizabeth*. Vol. XLI.

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The Commons behaved with great forbearance : they replied to the seizure of the offending member by requesting "to have leave to The Commons demand a conference. confer upon the liberties of the House." The original question of the succession was lost in the larger one of privilege, and the address which they had previously drawn seemed no longer distinct enough for the occasion. The Council implored Elizabeth to consider what she was doing. As soon as her anger cooled she felt herself that she had gone too far, and not caring to face a conference, "foreseeing that thereof must needs have ensued more inconvenience than were meet," she drew back with temper not too ruffled to save her dignity in giving way. Her intention had been to extort or demand the sanction of the House for the prosecution of Dalton. Discovering in time that if they refused she had no means of compelling them, she would not risk an open The Queen gives way. rupture. The prisoner was released "with-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dalton's Speech, according to the Report: *Domestic MSS.*, *Eliz.* Vol. XLI.

out further question or trial," and on the 25th she sent orders to the Speaker "to relieve the House of the burden of her commandment." She had been assured, she said, that they had no intention of molesting her, and that they had been "much perplexed" by the receipt of her order; "she did not mean to prejudice any part of the laudable liberties heretofore granted to them;" she would therefore content herself with their obedient behaviour, and she trusted only that if any person should begin again to discuss any particular title, the Speaker would compel him to be silent.<sup>1</sup>

The Commons were prudent enough to make the Queen's retreat an easy one. Having succeeded in resisting a dangerous encroachment of the crown they did not press their victory. The message sent through the Speaker was received by the House "most joyfully, with most hearty prayers and thanks for the same,"<sup>2</sup> and with the consent of all parties the question of Parliamentary privilege was allowed to drop.

Yet while ready to waive their right of discussing further the particular pretensions of the claimants of the crown, the Commons would not let the Queen believe that they acquiesced in being left in uncertainty. Two months had passed since the beginning of the session, and the subsidy had not been so much as discussed. The succession quarrel had commenced with the first motion for a grant of money, and had lasted with scarcely an interval ever since.

It was evident that although Elizabeth's objection to name a successor was rested on general grounds, it applied as strongly to Lady Catherine as to the Queen

<sup>1</sup> Note of the words of the Queen to the Speaker of the House of Commons: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI. Leicester to Cecil, November 27: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Commons' Journals*, 8 Eliz.

of Scots, and had arisen professedly from the Queen's own experience in the lifetime of her sister; yet the Commons either suspected that she was secretly working in the Scottish interest, or they thought at all events that her procrastination served only to strengthen that interest, and that Mary Stuart's friends every day grew more numerous.

The Money Bill was reintroduced on the 27th. The House was anxious to compensate by its liberality for the trouble which it had given on other subjects, and the Queen was privately informed that the grant would be made unusually large. Elizabeth, determined not to be outdone, replied that although for the public service she might require all which they were ready to offer, "she counted her subjects in respect of their hearty good will her best treasurers;" and "she therefore would move them to for-  
The Subsidy Bill.  
bear at that time extending their gift as they proposed." The manner as well as the matter of the message was pointedly gracious, yet the Commons would have preferred her taking the money and listening to their opinions; and the bribe was as unsuccessful as the menace, in keeping them silent. They voted freely the sum which she would consent to take. It amounted in a rough estimate to an income tax of seven per cent. for two years; but an attempt was made to attach a preamble to the Bill which would commit the Queen in accepting it to what she was straining every nerve to avoid. Referring to the promise which she had made to the Committee, "the Commons humbly and earnestly besought her with the assistance of God's grace, having resolved to marry, to accelerate without more loss of time all her honourable actions tending thereto;" while "submitting themselves to



the will of Almighty God, in whose hands all power and counsel did consist, they would at the same time beseech Him to give her Majesty wisdom well to foresee, opportunity speedily to consult, and power with assent of the realm sufficiently to fulfil, without unnecessary delay, all that should be needful to her subjects and their posterity in the stablishing the succession of the crown, first in her own person and progeny, and next in such persons as law and justice should peaceably direct — according to the answer of Moses: ‘The Lord God of the spirit of all flesh set one over this great multitude which may go out and in before them, and lead them out and in, that the Lord’s people may not be as sheep without a shepherd.’”<sup>1</sup>

The meaning of language such as this could not be mistaken. All the political advantages of the Scottish succession would not compensate to “the Lord’s people” for such a shepherd as the person into whose hands they seemed to be visibly drifting. It was a grave misfortune for the Protestants that they could produce no better candidate than Lady Catherine Grey, who had professed herself a Catholic when Catholicism seemed likely to serve her turn; and to whom, notwithstanding her legal claim through the provisions of the will of Henry the Eighth, there were so many and so serious objections. The friends of the Queen of Scots had set in circulation a list of difficulties in the way of her acknowledgment, the weight of which fanaticism itself could not refuse to admit.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Preamble for the Subsidy Bill: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XLI. *Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> “Whatever be said, it is notorious that when Sir Charles Brandon married the French Queen he had a wife already living.

“The Lady Catherine is therefore illegitimate.

It is uncertain whether the preamble was ever forced on Elizabeth's attention. The draft of it alone remains to show what the Commons intended; and

"Even if this were not so, yet such hath been her life and behaviour, and so much hath she stained herself and her issue, as she is to be thought unworthy of the crown. For she was married, as you know, to the Lord Herbert; the marriage was performed and perfected by all necessary circumstances; there was consent of parties, consent of parents, open solemnizing, continuance till lawful years of consent, and in the mean time, carnal copulation; all which, save the last, are commonly known, and the last, which might be most doubtful, is known by confession of them both. She herself hath earnestly acknowledged the same.

"A divorce was procured by the Earl of Pembroke, in Queen Mary's reign, against their wills, so that it cannot be legal.

"Afterwards, she by dalliance fell to carnal company with the Earl of Hertford, which was not descried till the bigness of her belly bewrayed her ill hap. The marriage between them was declared unlawful by the bishop who examined it.

"The mother wicked and lascivious; the issue bastarded.

"If she were next in the blood royal, her fault is so much the more to have so foully spotted the same. She can have no lawful children. Deut. xiii. 23:—It is written, 'a bastard and unlawful-born person may not bear rule in the church and commonweal;' a law devised to punish the parents for their sins, so that such a mother ought in no case to be allowed to succeed.

"Next as to King Henry's will:—

"He had no power to bequeath the crown, except so far as Parliament gave him leave; and Parliament could only give him leave so far as the power of Parliament extended. The words of the statute give him no absolute or unlimited power to appoint an unfit person to the crown, not capable of the same—as unto a Turk, an Infidel, an infamous or opprobrious person, a fool, or a madman.

"But again, he had power to order the succession, either by Letters Patent, or by his will, signed with his own hand.

"He has not done it by Letters Patent; of that there is no doubt.

"His will, there are witnesses sufficient, and some of them that subscribed the same testament can truly and plainly testify, that he did not subscribe.

"The stamp might be appended when the King was void of memory, or else when he was deceased, as indeed it happened, as more manifestly appeared by open declaration made in Parliament by the late Lord Paget and others, that the King did not sign it with his own hand, and as it is plain and probable enough by the pardon obtained for one William Clerke for putting the stamp to the said will after the King was departed.

"As to the enrolment in Chancery, and the evidence on the Rolls that the will was accepted and acted on, this is nothing. It was his will whether signed or not, and so far as legacies, etc., were concerned, such as he had

either they despaired of prevailing on the Queen to accept the grant while such a prelude was linked to it, and were unwilling to embarrass the public service; or they preferred another expedient, to which they trusted less objection might be raised: the preamble at all events was abandoned; they substituted for it a general expression of gratitude for the promise to marry, and sent the Bill to the Lords on the 17th of December.

Meanwhile on the 5th a measure was introduced which, if less effective in the long run for the protection of the Reformation than the declaration of a Protestant successor, would have ended at once the ambiguity of the religious position of Elizabeth. The Thirty-nine Articles, strained and cracked by three centuries of evasive ingenuity, scarcely embarrass now the feeblest of consciences. The clergyman of the nineteenth century subscribes them with such a smile as might have been worn by Samson when his Philistine mistress bound his arms with the cords and withes. In the first years of Elizabeth they were the symbols by which the orthodox Protestant was distinguished from the concealed Catholic. The liturgy, with purposed ambiguity, could be used by those who were Papists save in the name; the Articles affirmed the falsehood of doctrines declared by the Church to be divine, and the Catholic who signed them either passed over to the new opinions or imperilled his soul with perjury. In their anxiety for conciliation, and for the semblance of unanimity, Elizabeth's Government had

power to make by the common law, so far it might be acted on. But in so far as the succession was concerned, it was invalid, because the form prescribed by the empowering statute, 35 Hen. VIII., had not been observed." *Answer to Mr. Hale's Book of the Successions, December, 1566: Domestic MSS., Eliz., Vol. XLI.*

as yet held these formulas at arm's length : the Convocation of 1562 had reimposed them so far as their powers extended ; but the decrees of Convocation were but shadows until vitalized by the legislature ; and both Queen and Parliament had refused to give the authority of law to a code of doctrines which might convulse the kingdom.

On the failure of the suit for the succession, a Bill was brought into the Lower House to make subscription to the Articles a condition for the tenure of benefices in the Church of England. Bill for the reimposition of the Thirty-nine Articles. The move was so sudden and the Commons were so swift that there was no time for resistance. It was hurried through its three readings and given to the bishops to carry through the Lords. A letter from De Silva to Philip shows the importance which both Catholic and Protestant attached to it : —

DE SILVA TO PHILIP II.

*December, 1566.*

“ Religion is again under discussion here ; these heretic bishops are urging forward their malicious pretences ; they say that it is desirable for the realm to profess an uniform belief, and they desire to have their doctrine enforced by temporal penalties as soon as it has been sanctioned by Parliament.

“ The Catholics are in great alarm and entreat the Queen to withhold her sanction. I spent some time with her yesterday, and to bring on the subject I said that the Subsidy Bill having been passed it would be well if she let the Parliament end. De Silva advises the Queen to dissolve Parliament. The longer it lasted the more annoyance it would cause to her ; and she might assure herself that these popular assemblies could not fail to produce

disquiet, more particularly where the Commons had liberty of speech and were so much inclined to novelties.

"She agreed with me in this. She said the Commons had now entered upon a subject which was wholly alien to their duties; they were acting in contradiction to their late professions, and she would endeavour to send them about their business before Christmas.

"I pointed out to her the mischievous intention of the men who had brought these religious questions forward. They had no care for her or for the commonwealth, and they simply meant sedition. She was at peace so far, and had lived and reigned in safety all these years on the principles on which Cecil had carried on the government. If there was now to be a change, the insolence of the upholders of novelties would disturb everything. Hitherto the Pope and the Catholic powers had abstained from declaring against her, in the belief that her subjects were equitably and wisely governed, and that she would allow no one to be injured or offended. Should they now see her preparing to change her course they would perhaps reconsider the situation, and troubles might ensue, of which I, as the minister of your Majesty who so ardently desired her well-being, could not but give her honest warning.

"She went into the subject at some length. She said that those who were engaged upon it had given her to understand that it was for her own good, and had promised every one of them to stand by her and defend her against all her enemies.

"I told her she could not but see that these new religionists were only frightening her—in order that they might bring her to declare more decisively for them and against the Catholics. They pretended that

if she separated herself from them — if she did not yield in all points to what they wished — she would be in danger on account of the sentence which had been given at Rome in favour of Queen Catherine. I could assure her that she had but to express a desire to that effect and the Pope would immediately remove the difficulty ; I knew in fact that he was extremely anxious to remove it. Being her father's daughter, born in his house, having been named by him with consent of Parliament to succeed after her sister, and being Queen in possession, she had nothing really to fear — she would find powerful friends everywhere.

"It was true, she admitted, that the Pope had offered to reverse the sentence, but he had made it a condition that she should submit to him absolutely and unreservedly.

"If his Holiness had done this, I said, he was not actuated by any covetous ambition, but by the sincerest interest in herself and the realm. In the present Pope she might feel the fullest confidence ; and at all events there was no more reason for making innovations now than there had been at the beginning of her reign. She would do better to wait till time should enable her to see her way.

"She said that she thought as I did : she believed, however, that her people were afraid if she married the Archduke that the old religion would be brought in again : they were pressing forward these changes as a precaution.

"A little while ago, I said, her Council were most afraid that she would not marry at all.

"True, she answered ; that was their fear or their pretended fear — and their present conduct showed how dishonest they had been. Marry, however, she

would, if it was only to vex them. She would have been glad, she said, had there been any one in Parliament who could have checked the Bill in its progress; if it passed the Lords, she feared she would be unable to resist the pressure which would be brought to bear upon her."

Either Elizabeth feared another quarrel and distrusted her own strength, or she wished to deceive De Silva into believing her opposition to the Bill to be more sincere than it really was. The remonstrances of the Catholics, however, and her own better judgment prevailed at last. She collected her courage and sent a message to the Peers desiring that the Bill of Religion should go no further. The bishops were the persons in the Upper House for whom alone the question had much interest; and Elizabeth understood how to manage them. The Commons had resisted one order — the bishops thought they could resist another. Their first impulse was to entreat the Queen to reconsider her command — to let the debate go forward, and "if the Bill was found good by the Lords, that she would be pleased for the glory of God to give her gracious assent to the same."<sup>1</sup> A petition to this effect was presented carrying the signatures of the two archbishops and thirteen bishops. The Queen sent immediately for Parker and three or four more, and inquired which of them had been the first promoters of the Bill. Though it first appeared in the Lower House, she said, it must have originated with some one on the Bench; and though she had no objection to the doctrine of the Articles — "for it was that which she did openly pro-

<sup>1</sup> Petition of the Bishops to the Queen, December, 1566: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XLI.

fess" — she objected seriously to sudden irregular action "without her knowledge and consent" on a question of such magnitude.

Had Elizabeth scolded in the tone usual with her towards the Church authorities, she might have found them obstinate; but she spoke reasonably and they were frightened. The archbishops, though their names headed the signatures to the petition, disclaimed eagerly the responsibility of the initiation. She bade them find out by whom it had been done. The Archbishop of Canterbury reported to Cecil "that most of his brethren answered, as he had done, that they knew nothing of it." Having extracted a disavowal from the majority of the Bench, Elizabeth was able to shield her objections behind their indifference; she had checkmated them, and the obnoxious measure disappeared.

*The Bill is stopped.*

Thus gradually the storms of the session were blowing over. The Queen seemed at last to have really resolved on marriage, and her determination gave her courage to encounter her other difficulties with an increase of firmness. She promised the advocates of the Scotch title that the will of Henry the Eighth should be examined immediately on the close of the session, and that a fair legal opinion should be taken on the Queen of Scots' claims;<sup>1</sup> and she gave Mary Stuart a significant evidence of her good will in closing promptly and peremptorily a discussion which had commenced at Lincoln's Inn in the interests of the rival candidate. The lawyers, disappointed of their debate in the House of Commons, began it again in the Inns of Court — where there was no privilege to protect incautious speakers. Mr. Thornton,

*Elizabeth forbids the discussion of the Scottish title.*

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, December 16: *MS. Simancas*.



an eloquent advocate of Lady Catherine, was sent to the Tower; and even Cecil earned the thanks of the Queen of Scots by the energy with which he seconded his mistress in silencing opposition.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the 5th of January, Murray thanked Cecil in his own and the Queen's name for "his cordial dealing." "Her Majesty," wrote Maitland to him, "is very well satisfied with your behaviour. I pray you so continue, not doubting but you shall find her a thankful princess." "Melville," he added, "reports nothing but good of you, touching the repairing the injury done against my mistress at Lincoln's Inn." — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

Cecil's conduct in the succession struggle is not easy to make out. Neither memorandum nor letter of his own remain to show his real feelings; but though he might naturally have been looked for among the supporters of Lady Catherine Grey, he seems to have given thorough satisfaction to the friends of the Queen of Scots. He must have written to Maitland immediately after Elizabeth's first answer to the address of the Houses, regretting her resolution to leave the question unsettled; and he must have led Maitland to suppose that he had wished Mary Stuart to have been the person nominated; for Maitland, answering his letter on the 11th of November, gave him "hearty thanks for the pains which he had taken in the busy matter which he had had in hand," and then went on more pointedly —

"I look not in my time to see the matter in any perfection, for I think it is not the pleasure of God to have the subjects of this isle thoroughly settled in their judgment; for which cause he doth keep things most necessary undetermined, so as they shall always have somewhat wherewith to be exercised. The experience I have had of late in my own person makes me the less to marvel when I hear your doings are misconstrued by backbiters. Whosoever will meddle with public affairs and princes must be content to bear that burden. I never doubted the sincerity of your intentions, and I doubt not time shall convince those that think the contrary even in their own conscience, whenas themselves shall be content to justify your councils, which now are ignorant to what scope they are directed."

On the 17th of November, Mary Stuart herself wrote to Cecil, saying "that the bruits were passed which reported him to be a hinderer to her advancement, and that she knew him to be a wise man."

On the 18th, Murray wrote that "he had always found Cecil most earnest to produce good feeling and a sound understanding between England and Scotland, and between the two Queens; and so," he said, "my trust is that ye will continue favourable to the end in all her Highness's affairs, which for my own part I will most earnestly crave of you, being most assured there is no daughter in the isle doth more reverence her natural mother nor my Sovereign the Queen your mistress. Nor sure I am can she be induced by any means to seek or procure that which may in any sort offend her Majesty." — *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

It is possible that even Cecil's vigilance had been laid asleep by the sub-

Elizabeth herself wrote to the Queen of Scots, no longer insisting on the Treaty of Leith — no longer stipulating for embarrassing conditions. Substantially conceding all the points which were in dispute between them, she proposed that they should mutually bind themselves by a contract in which Mary Stuart should undertake to do nothing against Elizabeth during the lifetime of herself or her children ; while Elizabeth would “engage never to do or suffer anything to be done to the prejudice of the Queen of Scots’ title and interest as her next cousin.”<sup>1</sup>

Proposed  
bond  
between  
Elizabeth  
and the  
Queen of  
Scots.

The Queen of Scots declared herself, in reply, assured of Elizabeth’s “good mind and entire affection” towards her ; “she did not doubt that in time her sister would proceed to the perfecting and consideration of that which she had begun to utter, as well to her own people as to other nations — the opinion which her sister had of the equity of her cause ;” and she promised to send a commission to London to settle the terms in which the contract “might pass orderly to both their contentments.”<sup>2</sup>

January.

Thus the struggle was over ; though unrecognized by a formal Act of Parliament, Mary Stuart had won the day, and was virtually regarded as the heir presumptive to the English throne. Elizabeth’s own wishes had pointed throughout to this conclusion, if the Queen of Scots would consent to seek her object in any other capacity than as the representative of a revolution. The reconciliation of the two factions in Scotland, and the restoration of Murray and Maitland

missive attitude which the Queen of Scots had assumed towards Elizabeth, and by the seeming restoration of Murray to her confidence.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, December, 1566: *MS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> The Queen of Scots to Elizabeth, January 3, 1567: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

to confidence and authority, were accepted as an indication of a changed purpose; and harassed by her subjects, goaded into a marriage which she detested, and exhausted by a struggle which threatened a dangerous breach between herself and the nation, Elizabeth closed the long chapter of distrust, and yielded or prepared to yield all that was demanded of her.

Having thus made up her mind she resolved to break up the Parliament, and to punish the refractory House of Commons by a dissolution. After another election the Puritans would be in a minority. The succession could be legally established without division or quarrel, guarded by such moderate guarantees as might secure the mutual toleration of the two creeds.

For the first time in Parliamentary history a session had been wasted in barren disputes. On the 2d of January, between two and three in the afternoon, the Queen appeared in the House of Lords to bring it to an end. The Commons were called to the bar; the Speaker, Mr. Onslow, read a complimentary address, in which he described the English nation as happy in a sovereign who understood her duties, who prevented her subjects from injuring one another, and knew "how to make quiet among the ministers of religion." He touched on the many excellences of the constitution, and finally with some imprudence ventured an allusion to the restrictions on the royal authority.

"There be," he said, "for the prince provided princely prerogatives and royalties, yet not such as the prince can take money or other things or do as she will at her own pleasure without order; but quietly to suffer her subjects to enjoy their own without wrong-

*The close of  
the Session.*

ful oppression ; whereas other princes by their liberty do take as pleaseth them."

"Your Majesty," he went on turning to Elizabeth, "has not attempted to make laws contrary to order but orderly has called this Parliament, which perceived certain wants and thereunto have put their helping hands, and for help of evil manners good laws are brought forth."

Then going to the sorest of all sore and wounding subjects he concluded, "we give hearty thanks to God for that your highness has signified your pleasure of your inclination to marriage, which afore you were not given unto ; which is done for our safeguard, that when God shall call you, you may leave of your own body to succeed you. Therefore God grant us that you will shortly embrace the holy state of matrimony, when and with whom God shall appoint and shall best like your Majesty."

Elizabeth's humour, none the happiest at the commencement, was not improved by this fresh chafing of her galled side. She had come prepared to lecture others, not to listen to a homily. She beckoned Bacon to her and spoke a few words to him. He then rose and said that the general parts of the Speaker's address her Majesty liked well, and therefore he need not touch on them ; on the latter and more particular expressions used in it a few words were necessary.

"Politick orders," he said, "be the rules of all good acts, and touching them that you have made to the overthrowing of good laws" (your Bill of Religion, with which you meant to tyrannize over conscience), "these deserve reproof as well as the others deserve praise. In which like cause you err in bringing her Majesty's prerogative into question, and for that thing

wherein she meant not to hurt any of your liberties. Her Majesty's nature, however, is mild ; she will not be austere ; and therefore though at this time she suffer you all to depart quietly into your counties for your amendment, yet as it is needful she hopeth the offenders will hereafter use themselves well."

The Acts of the session were then read out and received the royal assent ; all seemed over, and it was by this time dusk ; when Elizabeth herself, in the uncertain light, rose from the throne, stood forward in her robes, and spoke.

"My Lords and other Commons of this assembly :  
Speech of Elizabeth. although the Lord Keeper hath according to order very well answered in my name, yet as a periphrasis I have a few words further to speak unto you, notwithstanding I have not been used nor love to do it in such open assemblies. Yet now, not to the end to amend his talk, but remembering that commonly princes' own words are better printed in the hearers' memory than those spoken by her command, I mean to say thus much unto you.

"I have in this assembly found such dissimulation where I always professed plainness, that I marvel thereat : yea two faces under one hood, and the body rotten, being covered with the two vizors succession and liberty — which they determined must be either presently granted, denied, or deferred ; in granting whereof they had their desire ; and denying or deferring thereof, those things being so plaudable as indeed to all men they are, they thought to work me that mischief which never foreign enemy could bring to pass — which is the hatred of my Commons.

"But alas ! they began to pierce the vessel before

the wine was fined, and began a thing not foreseeing the end, how by this means I have seen my well-willers from my enemies, and can as meseemeth very well divide the House into four : —

“ 1. The broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault.

“ 2. The speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded the rest, are next in degree.

“ 3. The agreeers, who being so light of credit that the eloquence of those tales so overcame them that they gave more credit thereunto than unto their own wits.

“ 4. Those that sat still and mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered disallowing the matter ; who in my opinion are most to be excused.

“ But do you think that either I am so unmindful of your surety by succession, wherein is all my care, considering I know myself to be but mortal? No, I warrant you. Or that I went about to break your liberties? No, it never was in my meaning ; but to stay you before you fell into the ditch. For all things have their time ; and although perhaps you may have after me a better-learned or wiser, yet I assure you, none more careful over you ; and therefore henceforth, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever it be, yet beware how you prove your prince's patience as you have now done mine.

“ And now to conclude all this ; notwithstanding, not meaning to make a Lent of Christmas, the most part of you may assure yourselves that you depart in your prince's grace.

“ My Lord Keeper, you will do as I bid you.”

Again Bacon rose and in a loud voice said, “ The

Dissolution  
of Parlia-  
ment.  
ure."

Queen's Majesty doth dissolve this Parlia-  
ment. Let every man depart at his pleas-

Elizabeth swept away in the gloom, passed to her barge, and returned to the palace. The Lords and Commons scattered through the English counties, and five years went by before another Parliament met again at Westminster in a changed world.

On that evening the immediate prospect before Eng-  
land was the Queen's marriage with an Aus-  
trian Catholic prince, the recognition more  
or less distant of the Catholic Mary Stuart as heir presumptive, the establishment with the support and sanction of the Catholic powers of some moderate form of government, under which the Catholic worship would be first tolerated and then creep on towards ascendancy. It might have ended, had Elizabeth been strong enough, in broad intellectual freedom; more likely it would have ended in the reappearance of the Marian fanaticism, to be encountered by passions as fierce and irrational as itself; and to the probable issue of that conflict conjecture fails to penetrate.

But the era of toleration was yet centuries distant; and the day of the Roman persecutors was gone never more to reappear. Six weeks later a powder barrel exploded in a house in Edinburgh, and when the smoke cleared away the prospects of the Catholics in England were scattered to all the winds.

The murder of Henry Stuart Lord Darnley is one of those incidents which will remain till the end of time conspicuous on the page of history. In itself the death of a single boy, prince or king though he might be, had little in it to startle the hard world of the sixteenth century. Even before the folly and falsehood

by which Mary Stuart's husband had earned the hatred of the Scotch nobility, it had been foreseen that such a frail and giddy summer pleasure-boat would be soon wrecked in those stormy waters. Had Darnley been stabbed in a scuffle or helped to death by a dose of arsenic in his bed, the fair fame of the Queen of Scots would have suffered little, and the tongues that dared to mutter would have been easily silenced. But conspiracies in Scotland were never managed with the skilful villany of the Continent; and when some conspicuous person was to be removed out of the way, the instruments of the deed were either fanatic religionists, who looked on themselves as the servants of God, or else they had been wrought up to the murder point by some personal passion which was not contented with the death of its victim, and required a fuller satisfaction in the picturesqueness of dramatic revenge. The circumstances under which the obstacle to Mary Stuart's peace was disposed of challenged the attention of the whole civilized world, and no after efforts availed in court, creed, or nation, to hide the memory of the scenes which were revealed in that sudden lightning flash.

The disorders of the Scots upon the Border had long been a subject of remonstrance from the English Government. The Queen of Scots, while the Parliament was sitting at Westminster, desired to give some public proof of her wish to conciliate; and after the strange appearance of Darnley in September at the Council at Edinburgh, she proposed to go in person to Jedburgh and hear the complaints of Elizabeth's wardens. The Earl of Bothwell had taken command of the North Marches: he had gone down to prepare the way for the Queen's ap-

The Queen  
of Scots  
goes to  
Jedburgh.



pearance, and on her arrival she was greeted with the news that he had been shot through the thigh in a scuffle and was lying wounded in Hermitage Castle. The Earl had been her companion throughout the summer; her relations with him at this time—whether innocent or not—were of the closest intimacy; and she had taken into her household a certain Lady Reres, who had once been his mistress.

She heard of his wound with the most alarmed anxiety: on every ground she could ill afford to lose him;<sup>1</sup> and careless at all times of bodily fatigue or danger, she rode on the 15th of October twenty-five miles over the moors to see him. The Earl's state proved to be more painful than dangerous, and after remaining two hours at his bed-side she returned the same day to Jedburgh. She had not been well: "thought and displeasure," which as she herself told Maitland,<sup>2</sup> "had their root in the King," had already affected both her health and spirits. The long ride, the night air, and "the great distress of her mind for the Earl," proved too much for her; and though she sat her horse till her journey's end, she fainted when she was lifted from the saddle, and remained two hours unconscious. Delirium followed with violent fever, and in this condition she continued for a week. She was frequently insensible: food refused to remain upon her stomach; yet for the first few days there seemed to be "no tokens of death;" she slept tolerably, and on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 22d and 23d, she was thought to be improving. An ex-

October.  
Bothwell is  
wounded.

Illness of  
the Queen  
of Scots.

<sup>1</sup> "Ce ne luy eust pas esté peu de perte de le perdre!" were the unsuspecting words of Du Crocq on the 17th of October. — Teulet, Vol. II. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland to the Archbishop of Glasgow: Printed in Keith.

press had been sent to Glasgow for Darnley, but he did not appear. On Friday, the 25th, there was a relapse; shiverings came on, the body grew rigid, the eyes were closed, the mouth set and motionless; she lost consciousness so entirely that she was supposed to be dying or dead; and in expectation of an immediate end a menacing order to keep the peace was sent out by Murray, Maitland, Huntly, and the other Lords who were in attendance on her.

The physician, "Master Naw," however, "a perfyt man of his craft," "would not give the matter over." He restored the circulation by chafing the limbs; the Queen came to herself at last, broke into a profuse perspiration, and fell into a natural sleep. When she awoke, the fever was gone, but her strength was prostrated. For the few next days she still believed herself in danger, and with the outward signs, and so far as could be seen with the inward spirit of Catholic piety, she prepared to meet what might be coming upon her. The Bishop of Ross was ever on his knees at her bed-side; and courageous always, she professed herself ready to die if so it was to be. She recommended the Prince to the Lords; through Murray she bequeathed the care of him to Elizabeth — through Du Crocq, to the King of France and Catherine de Medici — and for Scotland she implored them all as her last request "to trouble no man in his conscience that professed the Catholic faith," in which she herself had been brought up and was ready to die.

How much of all this was real, how much theatrical, it is needless to inquire; the most ardent admirer of Mary Stuart will not claim for her a character of piety, in any sense of the word which connects it with the moral law; those who regard her with most suspicion

will not refuse her the credit of devotion to the Catholic cause.

In a week all alarm was at an end. At length, but so late that his appearance was an affront, Darnley arrived: he was received with coldness; but for the interposition of Murray he would not have been allowed to remain a single night, and the next morning he was dismissed to return to his father. In unhappy contrast the Earl of Bothwell was brought as soon as he could be moved to Jedburgh; and on the 10th of November the court broke up, and proceeded by slow journeys towards Edinburgh for the Prince's baptism. At Kelso the Queen found a letter from her husband. It seems that he had been again writing in complaint of her to the Pope and the Catholic powers.<sup>1</sup> He was probably no less unwise in the words which he used to herself; and she exclaimed passionately in Murray's and Maitland's presence "that unless she was freed of him in some way she had no pleasure to live, and if she could find no other remedy she would put hand to it herself."<sup>2</sup>

Leaving Kelso and skirting the Border, she looked from Halydon Hill over Berwick and the English lines, and that fair vision of the future where Darnley was the single darkening image. A train of knights and gentlemen came out to do her homage and attend her to Ayemouth; the Berwick batteries as she went by saluted the heiress of the English crown; all through Northumberland,

Mary Stuart  
on the  
English  
Border.

<sup>1</sup> De Silva in a letter, late in the winter, to Philip, spoke of writing to the Queen of Scots — "A cerca del mal oficio que su marido habia hecho contra ella con V. Md. y con el Papa y Principes en lo de su religion." — *MS. Simancas.*

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood.

through Yorkshire, to the very gates of London, had she cared to visit Elizabeth, Mary Stuart would have been then received with all but regal honours. The Earl of Bedford — of all English nobles the most determined of her opponents — was preparing to be present at the approaching baptism, to make his peace as Elizabeth's representative. From Dunbar she wrote to Cecil and the rest of the Council as to "her good friends," to whom she committed the care of "her cause." From thence she passed on to Craigmillar<sup>1</sup> to recruit her strength in the keen breezy air.

Some heavy weight still hung upon her spirits: her brilliant prospects failed to cheer her. "The Queen is at Craigmillar," wrote Du Croq at the end of November; "she is still sick, and I believe the principal part of her disease to consist of a deep grief and sorrow: nor can she, it seems, forget the same; again and again she says she wishes she were dead."<sup>2</sup>

To the Lords who had attended her to Dalkeith the cause of her trouble was but too notorious. Instead of listening to her entreaties to relieve her of her husband, the Pope had probably followed the advice of De Silva, and had urged her to be reconciled to him: at any rate she must have known the anxiety of her English friends, and must have felt more wearily than ever the burden of the chain with which she had bound herself. Bothwell, Murray, Maitland, and Huntly continued at her side, and at Craigmillar they were joined by Argyle.

The lords and gentlemen who had been concerned in Ritzyo's murder had by this time most of them re-

<sup>1</sup> Three miles south of Edinburgh, on the road to Dalkeith.

<sup>2</sup> Du Croq to the Archbishop of Glasgow: Keith.

ceived their pardon; but the Queen had still found herself unable to forgive Morton, who, with Lindsay, young Ruthven, and Ker, was still an exile in England. Their friends had never ceased to intercede for them.

December.  
Consultation  
of the Lords. One morning while Argyle was still in bed, Murray and Maitland came to his room; and Maitland beginning upon the subject, said that "the best way to obtain Morton's pardon was to promise the Queen to find means to divorce her from her husband."

Argyle said he did not know how it could be done.

"My Lord," said Maitland, "care you not for that, we shall find the means to make her quit of him well enough, if you and Lord Huntly will look on and not take offence."

Scotland was still entangled in the Canon Law, and some trick could be made available if the nobles agreed to allow it. Huntly entered as the others were talking. They offered him the restoration of the Gordon estates if he would consent to Morton's return: he took the price, and agreed with the rest to forward the divorce.

The four noblemen then went together to Bothwell, who professed equal readiness: he accompanied them to the Queen; and Maitland in the name of the rest undertook to deliver her from Darnley on condition that she pardoned Morton and his companions.

Proposal for  
a divorce. Mary Stuart was craving for release: she said generally that she would do what they required; but embarrassed as she was by her connexion with Rome, she was unable to understand how a divorce could be managed, or how if they succeeded they could save the legitimacy of her child. So obvious a difficulty could

not have been unforeseen. Under the old law of the Church the dissolution of marriage was so frequent and facile, that by a kind of tacit agreement children born from connexions assumed at the time to be lawful were, like Mary and Elizabeth of England, allowed to pass as legitimate, and to succeed to their fathers' estates. The Earl of Angus and Queen Margaret were divorced, yet the English Council had tried in vain to fix a stigma on the birth of Lady Lennox. Archbishop Parker more recently had divorced Hertford and Lady Catherine Grey, yet their son was still the favourite for the succession of the English Protestants. Bothwell was ready with an instance from his own experience. The marriage between his own father and mother had been declared invalid, yet he had inherited the earldom without challenge.

The interests which depended on the young Prince of Scotland, however, were too vast to be lightly put in hazard; there was another and a shorter road out of the difficulty.

"Madam," said Maitland, "we are here the chief of your Grace's council and nobility; we shall find the means that your Majesty shall be quit of your husband without prejudice of your son, and albeit that my Lord of Murray here present be little less scrupulous for a Protestant than your Grace is for a Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same."

The words were scarcely ambiguous, yet Murray said nothing. Such subjects are not usually discussed in too loud a tone, and he may not have heard them distinctly. He himself swore afterwards "that if any man said he was present when purposes were held in

his audience tending to any unlawful or dishonourable end, he spoke wickedly and untruly."<sup>1</sup>

But Mary herself — how did she receive the dark suggestion? This part of the story rests on the evidence of her own friends, and was drawn up in her excuse and defence. According to Argyle and Huntly she said she "would do nothing to touch her honour and conscience;" "they had better leave it alone;" "meaning to do her good, it might turn to her hurt and displeasure."<sup>2</sup>

She may be credited with having refused her consent to the proposals then made to her; and yet that such a conversation should have passed in her presence (of the truth of the main features of it there is no room for doubt) was serious and significant. The secret was ill kept: it reached the ears of the Spanish ambassador, who, though he could not believe it true, wrote an account of it to Philip.<sup>3</sup> The Queen was perhaps serious in her reluctance; perhaps she desired not to know what was intended till the deed was done.

"This they should have done,  
And not have spoken of it. In her 't was villany;  
In them it had been good service."

Those among the Lords at all events who were most in Mary Stuart's confidence concluded that if they went their own way they had nothing to fear from her resentment. Four of the party present — Argyle, Huntly, Maitland, and Bothwell, with a cousin of

<sup>1</sup> Reply of Murray to the declarations of the Earls of Huntly and Argyle: Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Declarations of Huntly and Argyle: Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Habia entendido que viendo algunos el desgusto que habia entre estos Reyes, habian ofrecido á la Reyna de hacer algo contra su marido, y que ella no habia venido en ello. Aunque tuve este aviso de buena parte, parecióme cosa que no se debia creer que se hubiese tratado con la Reyna semejante platica." — De Silva to Philip, January 18: *MS. Simancas*.

Bothwell, Sir James Balfour — signed a bond immediately afterwards, while the court was still at Craigmillar, to the following purpose: —

“ That for sae meikle as it was thought expedient and profitable for the commonweal, by the nobility and lords underwritten, that sic an young fool and proud tyran (as the King) should not bear rule of them — for divers causes therefore they all had concluded that he should be put forth by one way or other — and whosoever should take the deed in hand or do it, they should defend and fortify it, for it should be by every one of them reckoned and holden done by themselves.”<sup>1</sup>

The curtain, which was thus for a moment drawn aside, again closes. The Queen went in the first week of December to Stirling, where Darnley was allowed to join her; and the English Catholics, who had been alarmed at the rumours which had gone abroad, flattered themselves into a hope that all would again go well. The King would make amends for the past by affection and submission; Mary Stuart would in time obliterate the painful feelings which her neglect of him had aroused.<sup>2</sup>

A few days after, the Earl of Bedford arrived from England: the Parliament was then approaching its conclusion; the storm had subsided, and Elizabeth, free to act for herself, had commissioned Bedford to tell the Queen of Scots that her claims should be investigated as soon as possible, and “should receive as much fa-

<sup>1</sup> Ormeston's confession: Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials of Scotland*.

<sup>2</sup> “ El Rey de Escocia ha ya viente dias que esta con la Reyna, y comen juntos; y aunque parece que no perderá tan presto del todo el desgusto del Rey por las cosas pasadas, todavia piensa que el tiempo, y estar juntos, y el Rey determinado de complacerle, hará mucho en la buena reconciliacion.” — De Silva to Philip, December 18: *MS. Simancas*.



vour as she could desire to her contentation.”<sup>1</sup> The ambassador had brought with him a magnificent font of gold weighing 330 ozs. as a splendid present to the heir of the English throne. The Prince, who was to have been dipped in it at his baptism, had grown too large by the delay of the ceremony; but Elizabeth suggested that it might be used for “the next child.”<sup>2</sup>

The time had been when these things would have satisfied Mary Stuart’s utmost hopes, and have filled her with exultation. Her thoughts, interests, and anxieties were now otherwise occupied. On the 15th, at five in the evening, the Prince was baptized by torch-light in Stirling Chapel; the service was that of the Catholic Church; the Archbishop of St. Andrew’s, the most abandoned of all Episcopal scoundrels, officiated, supported by three of his brethren. The French ambassador carried the child into the aisle; the Countess of Argyle, the same who had been present at Ritzio’s murder, held him at the font as Elizabeth’s representative; and three of the Scottish noblemen — Eglinton, Athol, and Ross — were present at the ceremony. The rest, with the English ambassador, stood outside the door. It boded ill for the supposed reconciliation that the Prince’s father, though in the castle at the time, remained in his own room, either still brooding over his wrongs and afraid that some insult should be passed upon him, or else forbidden by the Queen to appear.

As soon as the baptism was over the suit for the restoration of Morton was continued: Bedford added his intercession to that of Murray; Bothwell, Athol, and all the other noblemen joined in the entreaty; and

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to the Earl of Bedford going to Scotland: Keith.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

on the 24th the Queen, with some affectation of reluctance, gave way. George Douglas, who had been the first to strike Ritzio, and Faldonside, who had held a pistol to her breast, were alone excepted from a general and final pardon.<sup>1</sup>

Pardon of  
Morton and  
terror of  
Darnley.

Under any circumstances it could only have been with terror that Darnley could have encountered Morton and young Ruthven; but the conversation at Craigmillar, which had stolen into England, had been carried equally to his own ear. He knew that the pardon of Ritzio's murderers had been connected with his own destruction; and a whisper had reached him also of the bond which, though unsigned by the Queen, had been "drawn by her own device."<sup>2</sup> So long as Morton remained in exile he could hope that the conspiracy against him was incomplete. The proclamation of the pardon was his death knell, and the same night, swiftly, "without word spoken or leave taken, he stole away from Stirling and fled to his father."

That at such a crisis he should have been attacked by a sudden and dangerous illness was, to say the least of it, a singular coincidence. A few miles from the castle blue spots broke out over his body, and he was carried into Glasgow languid and drooping, with a disease which the court and the friends of the court were pleased to call small-pox.

Darnley  
flies from  
Stirling and  
is taken ill.

There for a time he lay, his father absent, himself hanging between life and death, attended only by a few faithful servants, while the Queen with recovered health and spirits spent her Christmas with Bothwell at Drummond Castle and Tullibardine, waiting the issue of the disease.

<sup>1</sup> Bedford to Cecil, December 30: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Deposition of Thomas Crawford: *MS. Ibid.*

Unfortunately for all parties concerned, the King after a few days was reported to be slowly recovering. Either the natural disorder was too weak to kill him, or the poison had failed of its work. The Queen returned to Stirling: the favourite rode south to receive the exiles on their way back from England. "In the yard of the hostelry of Whittingham," Bothwell and Morton met; and Morton long after — on the eve of his own execution, when to speak the truth might do him service where he was going, and could do him no hurt in this world — thus described what passed between them: —

January. Bothwell proposes the murder of Darnley to Morton. "The Earl of Bothwell," said Morton, "proposed to me the purpose of the King's murder, seeing that it was the Queen's mind that he should be taken away, because she blamed the King of Davie's slaughter more than me."

Morton, "but newly come from one trouble, said that he was in no haste to enter into a new," and required to be assured that the Queen indeed desired it.

Bothwell said "he knew what was in the Queen's mind, and she would have it done."

"Bring me the Queen's hand for a warrant," Morton said that he replied, "and then I will answer you."<sup>1</sup>

Rash and careless as Mary Stuart's passion made her, she was not so blind to prudence as to commit her signature as her husband had done. Bothwell promised that he would produce an order from her, but it never came, and Morton was saved from farther share in the conspiracy.

On the 14th of January the Queen brought the

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Morton's confession: *Illustrations of Scottish History* p. 494.

Prince to Edinburgh ; on the 20th she wrote a letter to the Archbishop of Glasgow at Paris, complaining of her husband's behaviour to her, while the poor wretch was still lying on his sick-bed ;<sup>1</sup> and about the same time she was rejoined by Bothwell on his return from the Border. So far the story can be traced with confidence. At this point her conduct passes into the debatable land, where her friends meet those who condemn with charges of falsehood and forgery. The evidence is neither conflicting nor insufficient : the dying depositions of the instruments of the crime taken on the steps of the scaffold ; the "undesigned coincidences" between the stories of many separate witnesses, with letters which after the keenest inquiry were declared to be in her own handwriting, shed a light upon her proceedings as full as it is startling ; but the later sufferings of Mary Stuart have surrounded her name with an atmosphere of tenderness, and half the world has preferred to believe that she was the innocent victim of a hideous conspiracy.

The so-called certainties of history are but probabilities in varying degrees ; and when witnesses no longer survive to be cross-questioned, those readers and writers who judge of truth by their emotions can believe what they please. To assert that documents were forged, or that witnesses were tampered with, costs them no effort ; they are spared the trouble of reflection by the ready-made assurance of their feelings.

The historian who is without confidence in these easy criteria of certainty can but try his evidence by such means as remain. He examines what is doubtful by the light of what is established, and offers at last

<sup>1</sup> The Queen of Scots to the Archbishop of Glasgow, January 20: Keith.

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the conclusions at which his own mind has arrived, not as the demonstrated facts either of logic or passion, but as something which, after a survey of the whole case, appears to him to be nearest to the truth.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen then, after writing the letter of complaint against her husband to the Archbishop of Glasgow, suddenly determined to visit his sick-bed. On Thursday the 23d of January she set out for Glasgow attended by her lover. They spent the night at Callendar together.<sup>2</sup> In the morning they parted; the Earl returned to Edinburgh; Mary Stuart pursued her journey attended by Bothwell's French servant Paris, through whom they had arranged to communicate.

The news that she was on her way to Glasgow anticipated her appearance there. Darnley was still con-

<sup>1</sup> The story in the text is taken from the depositions in Anderson and Pitcairn; from the deposition of Crawford, in the Rolls House; and from the celebrated casket letters of Mary Stuart to Bothwell. The authenticity of these letters will be discussed in a future volume in connexion with their discovery, and with the examination of them which then took place. Meantime I shall assume the genuineness of documents, which, without turning history into a mere creation of imaginative sympathies, I do not feel at liberty to doubt. They come to us after having passed the keenest scrutiny both in England and Scotland. The handwriting was found to resemble so exactly that of the Queen that the most accomplished expert could detect no difference. One of the letters could have been invented only by a genius equal to that of Shakspeare; and that one once accomplished, would have been so overpoweringly sufficient for its purpose that no forger would have multiplied the chances of detection by adding the rest. The inquiry at the time appears to me to supersede authoritatively all later conjectures. The English Council, among whom were many friends of Mary Stuart, had the French originals before them, while we have only translations, or translations of translations.

<sup>2</sup> "When Bothwell was conducting the Queen to Glasgow, where she was going to the King, at Callendar after supper, late, Lady Reres came to Bothwell's room, and seeing me there, said, 'What does M. Paris here?' 'It is all the same,' said he; 'Paris will say nothing.' And thereupon she took him to the Queen's room."—Examination of French Paris: *Anderson's Collection*. Paris was Bothwell's servant.

fined to his room ; but hearing of her approach he sent a gentleman who was in attendance on him, named Crawford, a noble, fearless kind of person, to apologize for his inability to meet her. It seems that after hearing of the bond at Craigmillar he had written some letter to her, the inconvenient truths of which had been irritating ; and she had used certain bitter expressions about him which had been carried to his ears. His heart half sunk in him when he was told that she was coming ; and Crawford, when he gave his message, did not hide from her that his master was afraid of her.

"There is no remedy against fear," the Queen said shortly.

"Madam," Crawford answered, "I know so far of my master that he desires nothing more than that the secrets of every creature's heart were writ in their faces."<sup>1</sup>

Crawford's suspicions were too evident to be concealed. The Queen did not like them ; she asked sharply if he had more to say ; and when he said he had discharged his commission, she bade him "hold his peace."

Lord Darnley had made some use of his illness ; as he lay between life and death he had come to understand that he had been a fool, and for the first time in his life had been thinking seriously. When the Queen entered his room she found him lying on his couch, weak and unable to move. Her first question was about his letter ; it was not her cue to irritate him, and she seemed to expostulate on the credulity with which he had listened to calumnies against her. He excused himself faintly. She allowed

The Queen  
at her  
husband's  
bed-side.

<sup>1</sup> Crawford's deposition: *M.S. Rolls House.*



her manner to relax, and she inquired about the cause of his illness.

A soft word unlocked at once the sluices of Darnley's heart; his passion gushed out uncontrolled, and with a wild appeal he threw himself on his wife's forgiveness.

"You are the cause of it," he said; "it comes only from you who will not pardon my faults when I am sorry for them. I have done wrong, I confess it; but others besides me have done wrong, and you have forgiven them, and I am but young. You have forgiven me often, you may say; but may not a man of my age, for want of counsel, of which I am very destitute, fall twice or thrice, and yet repent and learn from experience? Whatever I have done wrong, forgive me; I will do so no more. Take me back to you; let me be your husband again or may I never rise from this bed. Say that it shall be so," he went on with wild eagerness; "God knows I am punished for making my God of you — for having no thought but of you."<sup>1</sup>

He was flinging himself into her arms as readily as she could hope or desire; but she was afraid of exciting his suspicions by being too complaisant. She answered kindly that she was sorry to see him so unwell; and she asked him again why he had thought of leaving the country.

He said that "he had never really meant to leave it; yet had it been so there was reason enough; she knew how he had been used."

She went back to the bond of Craigmillar. It was necessary for her to learn who had betrayed the secret and how much of it was known.

<sup>1</sup> Crawford's deposition. The conversation, as related by Darnley to Crawford, tallies exactly with that given by Mary herself to Bothwell in the casket letters.

Weak and facile as usual, Darnley gave up the name of his informant; it was the Laird of Minto; and then he said that "he could not believe that she who was his own proper flesh would do him harm;" "if any other would do it," he added with something of his old bravado, "they should buy him dear, unless they took him sleeping."

Her part was difficult to act. As she seemed so kind, he begged that she would give him his food; he even wished to kiss her, and his breath after his illness was not pleasant. "It almost killed me," she wrote to Bothwell, "though I sate as far from him as the bed would allow: he is more gay than ever you saw him; in fact, he makes love to me, of the which I take so great pleasure that I enter never where he is but incontinent I take the sickness of my sore side which I am so troubled with."<sup>1</sup>

When she attempted to leave the room he implored her to stay with him. He had been told, he said, that she had brought a litter with her; did she mean to take him away?

She said she thought the air of Craigmillar would do him good; and as he could not sit on horseback, she had contrived a means by which he could be carried.

The name of Craigmillar had an ominous sound. The words were kind, but there was perhaps some odd glitter of the eyes not wholly satisfactory.

He answered that if she would promise him on her honour to live with him as his wife, and not to leave him any more, he would go with her to the world's end, and care for nothing; if not, he would stay where he was.

<sup>1</sup> Mary Stuart to Bothwell: *Anderson's Collection*.

It was for that purpose, she said, tenderly, that she had come to Glasgow ; the separation had injured both of them, and it was time that it should end ; “ and so she granted his desire, and promised it should be as he had spoken, and thereupon gave him her hand and faith of her body that she would love him and use him as her husband ; ” she would wait only till his health was restored ; he should use cold baths at Craigmillar, and then all should be well.

Again she returned to his letter ; she was still uneasy about his knowledge of the bond, and she asked whether he had any particular fear of either of the noblemen. He had injured Maitland most, and he shivered when she named him. He felt but too surely with what indifference Maitland would set his heel on such a worm as he was.

She spoke of Lady Reres, Bothwell's evil friend. Darnley knew what that woman had been, and suspected what she might be. He said he liked her not, and wished to God she might serve the Queen to her honour ; but he would believe her promise, he would do all that she would have him do, and would love all that she loved.

She had gained her point ; he would go with her, and that was all she wanted. A slight cloud rose between them before she left the room. He was impatient at her going, and complained that she would not stay with him : she on her part said that he must keep her promise secret ; the Lords would be suspicious of their agreement, and must not know of it.

He did not like the mention of the Lords ; the Lords, he said, had no right to interfere ; he would never excite the Lords against her, and she, he trusted, would not again make a party against him.

She said that their past disagreements had been no fault of hers. He, and he alone, was to blame for all that had gone wrong.

With these words she left him. Mary Stuart was an admirable actress ; rarely, perhaps, on the world's stage has there been a more skilful player. But the game was a difficult one ; she had still some natural compunction, and the performance was not quite perfect.

Darnley, perplexed between hope and fear, affection and misgiving, sent for Crawford. He related the conversation which had passed, so far as he could recollect it, word for word, and asked him what he thought.

Darnley relates to Crawford his conversation with the Queen.

Crawford, unblinded by passion, answered at once "that he liked it not ;" if the Queen wished to have him living with her, why did she not take him to Holyrood ? Craigmillar — a remote and lonely country house — was no proper place for him ; if he went with her, he would go rather as her prisoner than her husband.

Darnley answered that he thought little less himself ; he had but her promise to trust to, and he feared what she might mean ; he had resolved to go, however ; "he would trust himself in her hands though she should cut his throat."<sup>1</sup>

And Mary, what was her occupation after parting thus from her husband ? Late into the night she sat writing an account of that day's business to her lover, "with whom," as she said, "she had left her heart." She told him of her meeting with Crawford, and of her coming to the King ; she related, with but slight verbal variations, Darnley's passionate

The Queen in her cabinet.

<sup>1</sup> Crawford's deposition: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

appeal to her, as Darnley himself had told it to his friend.

"I pretend," she wrote, "that I believe what he says; you never saw him better, or heard him speak more humbly. If I did not know his heart was wax, and mine a diamond, whereinto no shot can enter but that which comes from your hand, I could almost have had pity on him; but fear not, the plan shall hold to the death."

If Mary Stuart was troubled with a husband, Bothwell was inconvenienced equally with a wife.

"Remember in return," she continued, "that you suffer not yourself to be won by that false mistress of yours, who will travail no less with you for the same; I believe they learnt their lesson together. He has ever a tear in his eye. He desires I should feed him with my own hands. I am doing what I hate. Would you not laugh to see me lie so well, and dissemble so well, and tell truth betwixt my hands. We are coupled with two bad companions. The devil sunder us, and God knit us together to be the most faithful couple that ever he united. This is my faith — I will die in it. I am writing to you while the rest are sleeping, since I cannot sleep as they do, and as I would desire — that is in your arms, my dear love; whom I pray God preserve from all evil and send you repose."

Without much moral scrupulousness about her, Mary Stuart had still feelings which answer to a loose man's "sense of honour."

"I must go forward," she said, "with my odious purpose. You make me dissemble so far that I abhor it, and you cause me to do the office of a traitress. If it were not to obey you, I had rather die than do it; my heart bleeds at it. He will not come with me except I promise him that I shall be with him as before, and doing this he will do all I please and come with me. To make him trust me, I had to fence in some things with him; so when he asked that when he was well we should have both but one bed, I said that if he changed not purpose between now and then, it should be so; but in the mean time I bade him take care that he let nobody know of it, because the Lords would fear, if we agreed together, he would make them feel the small account they made of him. In fine, he will go anywhere that I ask him. Alas! I never deceived anybody; but I remit me altogether to your pleasure. Send me word what to do, and I will do it. Consider whether you can contrive anything more secret by medicine. He is to take medicine and baths at Craigmillar. He suspects greatly, and yet he trusts me. I am sorry to hurt any one that depends on me; yet you may command me in all things. About Lady Reres he said, I pray God she may serve you to your honour. He suspects the thing you know, and of his life; but as to the last, when I speak two or three kind words, he is happy and out of doubt. Burn this letter, for it is dangerous and nothing well said in it."

Then following the ebb and flow of her emotions to that strange point where the criminal passion of a woman becomes almost virtue in its utter self-abandonment, she appealed to Bothwell not to despise her for the treachery to which for his sake she was condescending.

"Have no evil opinion of me for this," she concluded; "you yourself are the cause of it; for my own private revenge I would not do it to him. Seeing, then, that to obey you, my dear love, I spare neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness, take it, I pray you, in good part. Look not at that woman whose false tears should not be so much regarded as the true and faithful labour which I am bearing to deserve her place; to obtain which — against my nature — I betray those that may hinder me. God forgive me, and God give you, my only love, the happiness and prosperity which your humble and faithful friend desires for you. She hopes soon to be another thing to you. It is late. I could write to you forever; yet now I will kiss your hand and end."<sup>1</sup>

With these thoughts in her mind, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, lay down upon her bed — to sleep, doubtless — sleep with the soft tranquillity of an innocent child. Remorse may disturb the slumbers of the man who is dabbling with his first experiences of wrong. When the pleasure has been tasted and is gone, and nothing is left of the crime but the ruin which it has wrought, then, too, the Furies take their seats upon the midnight pillow. But the meridian of evil is for the most part left unvexed; and when a man has chosen his road he is let alone to follow it to the end.

The next morning the Queen added a few closing words:

"If in the mean time I hear nothing to the contrary, according to my commission I will bring the man to Craigmillar on Monday — where he will be all Wednesday."

<sup>1</sup> Mary Stuart to Bothwell: *Anderson's Collection*.

day — and I will go to Edinburgh to draw blood of me. Provide for all things and discourse upon it first with yourself.”

This letter, and another to Maitland, she gave in charge to Paris to take to Edinburgh. In delivering them she bade him tell Bothwell that she had prevented the King from kissing her, as Lady Reres could witness; and she told him to ask Maitland whether Craigmillar was to be the place, or whether they had changed their plan. They would give him answers with which he would come back to her immediately. She would herself wait at Glasgow with the King till his return.

Paris, after being a day upon the road, reached Edinburgh with his despatches on the night of Saturday the 25th. On going to Bothwell's room the next morning he found the Earl absent, and a servant directed him to a house belonging to Sir Robert Balfour, brother of James Balfour who signed the Craigmillar bond.

St. Mary's-in-the-Fields, called commonly Kirk-a-Field, was a roofless and ruined church, standing just inside the old town walls of Edinburgh, at the north-western corner of the present College. Adjoining it there stood a quadrangular building which had at one time belonged to the Dominican monks. The north front was built along the edge of the slope which descends to the Cowgate; the south side contained a low range of unoccupied rooms which had been “priests' chambers;” the east consisted of offices and servants' rooms; the principal apartments in the dwelling, into which the place had been converted, were in the western wing, which completed the square. Under the windows there was a narrow strip of grass-plot dividing the house from the town wall,

Paris goes to  
Bothwell for  
instructions.

Plan of the  
house at  
Kirk-a-Field



and outside the wall were gardens into which there was an opening through the cellars by an underground passage. The principal gateway faced north and led direct into the quadrangle.

Here it was that Paris found Bothwell with Sir James Balfour. He delivered his letter and gave his message. The Earl wrote a few words in Bothwell's message. reply. "Commend me to the Queen," he said as he gave the note, "and tell her that all will go well. Say that Balfour and I have not slept all night, that everything is arranged, and that the King's lodgings are ready for him. I have sent her a diamond. You may say I would send my heart too were it in my power — but she has it already."

A few more words passed, and from Bothwell Paris went to Maitland, who also wrote a brief answer. To the verbal question he answered, "Tell her Majesty to take the King to Kirk-a-Field;" and with these replies the messenger rode back through the night to his mistress.

She was not up when he arrived; her impatience could not rest till she was dressed, and she received him in bed. He gave his letters and his messages. She asked if there was anything further. He answered that Bothwell bade him say "he would have no rest till he had accomplished the enterprise, and that for love of her he would train a pike all his life." The Queen laughed. "Please God," she said, "it shall not come to that."<sup>1</sup>

A few hours later she was on the road with her victim. He could be moved but slowly. Darnley is removed to Kirk-a-Field. She was obliged to rest with him two days at Linlithgow; and it was not till the 30th that she was

<sup>1</sup> Examination of Paris: Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. I.

able to bring him to Edinburgh. As yet he knew nothing of the change of his destination, and supposed that he was going on to Craigmillar. Bothwell, however, met the cavalcade outside the gates and took charge of it. No attention was paid either to the exclamations of the attendants or the remonstrances of Darnley himself; he was informed that the Kirk-a-Field house was most convenient for him, and to Kirk-a-Field he was conducted.

"The lodgings" prepared for him were in the west wing, which was divided from the rest of the house by a large door at the foot of the staircase. A passage ran along the ground floor from which a room opened which had been fitted up for the Queen. At the head of the stairs a similar passage led first to the King's room — which was immediately over that of the Queen — and further on to closets and rooms for the servants.

Here it was that Darnley was established during the last hours which he was to know on earth. The keys of the doors were given ostentatiously to his groom of the chamber, Thomas Nelson; the Earl of Bothwell being already in possession of duplicates. The door from the cellar into the garden had no lock, but the servants were told that it could be secured with bolts from within. The rooms themselves had been comfortably furnished, and a handsome bed had been set up for the King with new hangings of black velvet. The Queen, however, seemed to think that they would be injured by the splashing from Darnley's bath, and desired that they might be taken down and changed. Being a person of ready expedients, too, she suggested that the door at the bottom of the staircase was not required for protection. She had it taken down and

turned into a cover for the bath-vat; "so that there was nothing left to stop the passage into the said chamber but only the portal door."<sup>1</sup>

After this little attention she left her husband in possession; she intended herself to sleep from time to time there, but her own room was not yet ready.

The further plan was still unsettled. Bothwell's first notion was to tempt Darnley out into the country some sunny day for exercise, and then to kill him. But "this purpose was changed because it would be known;"<sup>2</sup> and was perhaps abandoned with the alteration of the place from Craigmillar.

The Queen meanwhile spent her days at her husband's side, watching over his convalescence with seemingly anxious affection, and returning only to sleep at Holyrood. In the starry evenings, though it was mid-winter, she would go out into the garden with Lady Reres, and "there sing and use pastime."<sup>3</sup> After a few days her apartment at Kirk-a-Field was made habitable; a bed was set up there in which she could sleep, and particular directions were given as to the part of the room where it was to stand. Paris through some mistake misplaced it. "Fool that you are," the Queen said to him when she saw it, "the bed is not to stand there; move it yonder to the other side."<sup>4</sup> She perhaps meant nothing, but the words afterwards seemed ominously significant. A powder-barrel was to be lighted in that room to blow the house and every one in it into the air. They had placed the bed on the spot where the powder was to stand, immediately below the bed of the King.

<sup>1</sup> Examination of Thomas Nelson: Pitcairn.

<sup>2</sup> Hepburn's confession: Anderson.

<sup>3</sup> Depositions of Thomas Nelson: Pitcairn.

<sup>4</sup> "Sot que tu es, je ne veux pas que mon lit soyt en cest endroyt la, et du fait le feist oster."—Examination of Paris: *Ibid.*

Whatever she meant, she contrived when it was moved to pass two nights there. The object was, to make it appear as if in what was February. to follow her own life had been aimed at as well as her husband's. Wednesday the 5th she slept there, and Friday the 7th, and then her penance was almost over, for on Saturday the thing was to have been done.

Among the wild youths who followed Bothwell's fortunes, three were found who consented to be the instruments — young Hay, the Laird of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and the Laird of Ormeston — gentlemen retainers of Bothwell's house, and ready for any desperate adventure.<sup>1</sup> Delay only created a risk of discovery, and the Earl on Friday arranged his plans for the night ensuing.<sup>2</sup>

It seems, however, that at the last moment there was an impression either that the powder might fail or that Darnley could be more conveniently killed in a scuffle with an appearance of accident. Lord Robert Stuart, Abbot of St. Cross, one of James the Fifth's wild brood of children whom the Church had provided with land and title, had shared in past times in the King's riots, and retaining some regard for him had warned the poor creature to be on his guard. Darnley, making love to destruction, told the Queen; and Stuart, knowing that his own life might pay the forfeit of his

<sup>1</sup> Hepburn on his trial said that when Bothwell first proposed the murder to him, "he answered it was an evil purpose, but because he was servant to his Lordship he would do as the rest." So also said Hay and Ormeston. Paris, according to his own story, was alike afraid to refuse and to consent. Bothwell told him the Lords were all agreed. He asked what Murray said. "Murray, Murray!" said the Earl, "il ne se veult n'ayder ni nuyre, mais r'est tout ung." "Monsieur," Paris replied, "il est sage." — Examination of Paris: Pitcairn.

<sup>2</sup> Examination of Hay of Tallo: Anderson.

interference, either received a hint that he might buy his pardon by doing the work himself, or else denied his words and offered to make the King maintain them at the sword's point. A duel, could it be managed, would remove all difficulty; and Bothwell would take care how it should end.

Something of this kind was in contemplation on the Saturday night, and the explosion was deferred in consequence. The Queen that evening at Holyrood bade Paris tell Bothwell "that the Abbot of St. Cross should go to the King's room and do what the Earl knew of." Paris carried the message, and Bothwell answered, "Tell the Queen that I will speak to St. Cross and then I will see her."<sup>1</sup>

But this too came to nothing. Lord Robert went, and angry words according to some accounts were exchanged between him and Darnley; but a sick man unable to leave his couch was in no condition to cross swords; and for one more night he was permitted to survive.

So at last came Sunday, eleven months exactly from the day of Ritzio's murder; and Mary Stuart's words that she would never rest till that dark business was revenged were about to be fulfilled. The Earl of Murray, knowing perhaps what was coming, yet unable to interfere, had been long waiting for an opportunity to leave Edinburgh. Early that morning he wrote to his sister to say that Lady Murray was ill at St. Andrew's, and that she wished him to join her; the Queen with some reluctance gave him leave to go.

It was a high day at the Court; Sebastian, one of the musicians, was married in the afternoon to Margaret Cawood, Mary Stuart's favourite waiting-woman.

<sup>1</sup> Examination of Paris: Anderson.

When the service was over, the Queen took an early supper with Lady Argyle, and afterwards accompanied by Cassilis, Huntly, and the Earl of Argyle himself, she went as usual to spend the evening with her husband, and professed to intend to stay the night with him. The hours passed on.

February 9.  
Mary Stuart  
in Darnley's  
room.

She was more than commonly tender; and Darnley, absorbed in her caresses, paid no attention to sounds in the room below him, which had he heard them might have disturbed his enjoyment.

At ten o'clock that night two servants of Bothwell, Powrie and Patrick Wilson, came by order to the Earl's apartments in Holyrood. Hepburn, who was waiting there, pointed to a heap of leather bags and trunks upon the floor, which he bade them carry to the gate of the gardens at the back of Kirk-a-Field. They threw the load on a pair of pack-horses, and led the way in the dark as they were told; Hepburn himself went with them, and at the gate they found Bothwell, with Hay, Ormeston, and another person, muffled in their cloaks. The horses were left standing in the lane. The six men silently took the bags on their shoulders and carried them to the postern door which led through the town wall. Bothwell then went in to join the Queen, and told the rest to make haste with their work and finish it before the Queen should go. Powrie and Wilson were dismissed; Hepburn and the three others dragged the bags through the cellar into Mary Stuart's room. They had intended to put the powder into a cask, but the door was too narrow, so they carried it as it was and poured it out in a heap upon the floor.

The powder  
is brought  
in.

They blundered in the darkness. Bothwell, who was listening in the room above, heard them stumbling

at their work, and stole down to warn them to be silent; but by that time all was in its place. The dark mass in which the fire spirit lay imprisoned rose dimly from the ground; the match was in its place, and the Earl glided back to the Queen's side.

It was now past midnight. Hay and Hepburn were to remain with the powder alone. "You know what you have to do," Ormeston whispered; "when all is quiet above, you fire the end of the lint and come away."

With these words Ormeston passed stealthily into the garden. Paris, who had been assisting in the arrangement, went up stairs to the King's room, and his appearance was the signal concerted beforehand for the party to break up. Bothwell whispered a few words in Argyle's ear; Argyle touched Paris on the back significantly; there was a pause—the length of a Paternoster<sup>1</sup>—when the Queen suddenly recollected that there was a masque and a dance at the Palace on the occasion of the marriage, and that she had promised to be present. She rose, and with many

The Queen returns to Holyrood. regrets that she could not stay as she intended, kissed her husband, put a ring on his finger, wished him good-night, and went. The Lords followed her. As she left the room, she said, as if by accident, "It was just this time last year that Ritzio was slain."<sup>2</sup>

In a few moments the gay train was gone. The Queen walked back to the glittering halls in Holyrood; Darnley was left alone with his page,\* Taylor, who slept in his room, and his two servants, Nelson and Edward Seymour. Below in the darkness, Bothwell's

<sup>1</sup> Examination of Paris: Pitcairn.

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood.

two followers shivered beside the powder heap, and listened with hushed breath till all was still.

The King, though it was late, was in no mood for sleep, and Mary's last words sounded awfully in his ears. "She was very kind," he said to Nelson, "but why did she speak of Davie's slaughter?"

Just then Paris came back to fetch a fur wrapper which the Queen had left, and which she thought too pretty to be spoiled. "What will she do?" Darnley said again when he was gone; "it is very lonely." The shadow of death was creeping over him; he was no longer the random boy who two years before had come to Scotland filled with idle dreams of vain ambition. Sorrow, suffering, disease, and fear, had done their work. He was said to have opened the Prayer-book, and to have read over the 55th Psalm, which, by a strange coincidence, was in the English service for the day that was dawning.

If his servant's tale was true, these are the last words which passed the lips of Mary Stuart's husband:

"Hear my prayer, O Lord, and hide not thyself from my petition.

"My heart is disquieted within me, and the fear of death is fallen upon me.

"Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and an horrible dread hath overwhelmed me.

"It is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour, for then I could have borne it.

"It was even thou my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend."

Forlorn victim of a cruel time! Twenty-one years old — no more. At the end of an hour he went to bed, with his page at his side. An hour later they two were lying dead in the garden under the stars.



The exact facts of the murder were never known -- only at two o'clock that Monday morning, a "crack" was heard which made the drowsy citizens of Edinburgh turn in their sleep, and brought down all that side of Balfour's house of Kirk-a-Field in a confused heap of dust and ruin. Nelson, the sole survivor, went to bed and slept when he left his master, and "knew nothing till he found the house falling about him;" Edward Seymour was blown in pieces; but Darnley and his page were found forty yards away, beyond the town wall, under a tree, with "no sign of fire on them," and with their clothes scattered at their side.

Some said that they were smothered in their sleep; some, that they were taken down into a stable and "wirried;" some, that, "hearing the keys grate in the doors below them, they started from their beds, and were flying down the stairs, when they were caught and strangled." Hay and Hepburn told one consistent story to the foot of the scaffold: -- When the voices were silent overhead, they lit the match and fled, locking the doors behind them. In the garden they found Bothwell watching with his friends, and they waited there till the house blew up, when they made off and saw no more. It was thought, however, that in dread of torture they left the whole dark truth untold; and over the events of that night a horrible mist still hangs, unpenetrated and unpenetrable forever.

This only was certain, that with her husband Mary Stuart's chances of the English throne perished also, and with them all serious prospect of a Catholic revolution. With a deadly instinct the world divined the author of the murder; and more than one nobleman,

on the night on which the news reached London, hastened to transfer his allegiance to Lady Catherine Grey.<sup>1</sup>

The faithful Melville hurried up to defend his mistress — but to the anxious questions of De Silva, though he called her innocent, he gave confused answers.<sup>2</sup> “Lady Lennox demands vengeance upon the Queen of Scots,” De Silva said; “nor is Lady Lennox alone in the belief of her guilt; they say it is revenge for the Italian secretary. The heretics denounce her with one voice; the Catholics are divided; her own friends acquit her; the connexions of the King cry out upon her without exception.”<sup>3</sup>

On the 1st of March, Moret, the Duke of Savoy’s ambassador at the Scotch court, passed through London on his way to the Continent. He had been in Edinburgh at the time of the murder; and De Silva turned to him for comfort. But Moret had no comfort to give. “I pressed him,” said De Silva, “to tell me whether he thought the Queen was innocent; he did not condemn her in words, but he said nothing in her favour;”<sup>4</sup> “the spirits of the Catholics are broken;”<sup>5</sup> should it turn out that she is guilty, her party in England is gone, and by her means there is no more chance of a restoration of religion.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Silva to Philip, February 17: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> “Aunque este salvó á la Reyna, veo le algo confuso.” — Same to same, February 22: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> “Apretandole que me dixese lo que le parecia conforme á lo que el habia visto y colegido si la Reyna tenia culpa dello, aunque no la le condesño de palabra, no le salvó nada.” — De Silva to Philip, March 1: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> “Mucho ha este caso enflaquecido los animos de los Catolicos.” — *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER XI.

THE Earl of Sussex, having failed alike to beat Shan O'Neil in the field or to get him satisfactorily murdered, had at last been recalled, leaving the government of Ireland in the hands of Sir Nicholas Arnold. An unsuccessful public servant never failed to find a friend in Elizabeth, whose disposition to quarrel with her ministers was usually in proportion to their ability. She had shared the confidence of the late Deputy in what to modern eyes appears unpardonable treachery ; she received him on his return to England with undiminished confidence, and she allowed him to confirm her in her resolution to spend no more money in the hopeless enterprise of bringing the Irish into order ; while she left Arnold to set the bears and bandogs to tear each other, and watched contentedly the struggle in Ulster between O'Neil and the Scots of the Isles.

The breathing-time would have been used to better advantage had the reform been carried to completeness which had been commenced with the mutinous miscreants miscalled the English army. But the bands could not be discharged with decency till they had received their wages ; without money they could only continue to maintain themselves on the plunder of the farmers of the Pale ; and the Queen, provoked with the past expenses to which she had so reluctantly assented, knotted her purse-strings, and seemed determined that Ireland should in future bear the cost of its

own government. The worst peculations of the principal officers were inquired into and punished: Sir Henry Ratcliff, Sussex's brother, was deprived of his command, and sent to the castle; but Arnold's vigour was limited by his powers. The paymasters continued to cheat the Government in the returns of the number of their troops; the Government defended themselves by letting the pay run into arrear; the soldiers revenged their ill-usage on the people; and so it came to pass that in O'Neil's country alone in Ireland — defended as it was from attacks from without, and enriched with the plunder of the Pale — were the peasantry prosperous, or life or property secure.

Munster was distracted by the feuds between Ormond and Desmond; while the deep bays and creeks of Cork and Kerry were the nests and hiding-places of English pirates, whose numbers had just received a distinguished addition in the person of Sir Thomas Stukely, with a barque of four hundred tons and "a hundred tall soldiers, besides mariners."

Stukely had been on his way to Florida with a license from the Crown to make discoveries and to settle there; but he had found a convenient halting-place in an Irish harbour, from which he could issue out and plunder the Spanish galleons.<sup>1</sup> He had taken up his quarters at Kinsale, "to make the sea his Florida;"<sup>2</sup> and in anticipation of the terms on which he was likely to find himself with Elizabeth, he contrived to renew an acquaintance which he had com-

Sir T.  
Stukely in  
Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> "Stukely's piracies are much railed at here in all parts. I hang down my head with shame. Alas! though it cost the Queen roundly, let him for honour's sake be fetched in. These pardons to such as be *hostes humani generis* I like not." — Chaloner to Cecil, Madrid, December 14, 1564: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Wroth to Cecil, November 17: *Irish MSS. Ibid.*

menced in England with Shan O'Neil. The friendship of a buccaneer who was growing rich on Spanish plunder might have seemed inconvenient to a chief who had offered Ireland as a fief to Philip; but Shan was not particular: Philip had as yet shown but a cold interest in Irish rebellion, and Stukely filled his cellars with sherry from Cadiz, amused him with his magniloquence, and was useful to him by his real dexterity and courage. So fond Shan became of him that he had the impertinence to write to Elizabeth in favour "of that his so dearly loved friend and her Majesty's worthy subject," with whom he was grieved to hear that her Majesty was displeased. He could not but believe that she had been misinformed; but if indeed so good and gallant a gentleman had given her cause of offence, Shan entreated that her Majesty, for his sake and in the name of the services which he had himself rendered to England, would graciously pardon him; and he, with Stukely for a friend and confidant, would make Ireland such as Ireland never was since the world began.<sup>1</sup>

Among so many mischiefs "religion" was naturally in a bad way. "The lords and gentlemen of the Pale went habitually to mass."<sup>2</sup> The Protestant bishops were chiefly agitated by the vestment controversy. Adam Loftus, the titular Primate, to whom sacked villages, ravished women, and famine-stricken skeletons crawling about the fields were matters of every-day indifference, shook with terror at the mention of a surplice.<sup>3</sup> Robert Daly wrote in anguish to Cecil, in dismay at the countenance to "Papistry,"

The Irish  
bishops.

<sup>1</sup> Shan O'Neil to Elizabeth, June 18, 1565: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Adam Loftus to Elizabeth, May 17: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Adam Loftus to Cecil, July 16: *MS. Ibid.*

and at his own inability to prolong a persecution which he had happily commenced.<sup>1</sup>

Some kind of shame was felt by statesmen in England at the condition in which Ireland continued. Unable to do anything real towards amending it, they sketched out among them about this time a scheme for a more effective government. The idea of the division of the country into separate presidencies lay at the bottom of whatever hopes they felt for an improved order of things. So long as the authority of the sovereign was represented only by a Deputy residing at Dublin, with a few hundred ragged marauders called by courtesy "the army," the Irish chiefs would continue, like O'Neil, to be virtually independent; while by recognizing the reality of a power which could not be taken from them, the English Government could deprive them of their principal motive for repudiating their allegiance.

The aim of the Tudor sovereigns had been from the first to introduce into Ireland the feudal  
Irish policy  
of the Tudor  
sovereigns.  
 administration of the English counties; they

<sup>1</sup> "The bruit of the alteration in religion is so talked of here among the Papists, and they so triumph upon the same, it would grieve any good Christian heart to hear of their rejoicing; yea, in so much that my Lord Primate, my Lord of Meath, and I, being the Queen's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, dare not be so bold now in executing our commissions in ecclesiastical causes as we have been to this time. To what end this talk will grow I am not able to say. I fear it will grow to the great contempt of the Gospel and of the ministers of the same, except that spark be extinguished before it grow to flame. The occasion is that certain learned men of our religion are put from their livings in England; upon what occasion is not known here as yet. The poor Protestants, amazed at the talk, do often resort to me to learn what the matter means; whom I comfort with the most faithful texts of Scripture that I can find. . . . But I beseech you send me some comfortable words concerning the stablishing of our religion, wherewith I may both confirm the wavering hearts of the doubtful, and suppress the stout brags of the sturdy and proud Papists." — Robert Daly to Cecil, July 2: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

had laboured to persuade the chiefs to hold their lands under the Crown, with the obligations which landed tenures in England were supposed always to carry with them. The large owner of the soil, to the extent that his lordship extended, was in the English theory the ruler of its inhabitants, magistrate from the nature of his position, and representative of the majesty of the Crown. Again and again they had endeavoured to convince the Irish that order was better than anarchy ; that their faction fights, their murders, their petty wars and robberies, were a scandal to them ; that till they could amend their ways they were no better than savages. Fair measures and foul had alike failed so far. Once more a project was imagined of some possible reformation, which might succeed at least on paper.

In the system which was at last to bring a golden age to Ireland, the four provinces were to be governed each by a separate president and council. Every county was to have its sheriff ; and the Irish noblemen and gentlemen were to become the guardians of the law which they had so long defied. The poor should no longer be oppressed by the great ; and the wrongs which they had groaned under so long should be put an end to forever by their own Parliament. " No poor persons should be compelled any more to work or labour by the day or otherwise without meat, drink, wages, or some other allowance during the time of their labour ; " no " earth-tillers, nor any others inhabiting a dwelling under any lord, should be distrained or punished in body or goods for the faults of their landlord ; " nor any honest man lose life or lands without fair trial, by Parliamentary attainder, " according to the antient laws of England and Ireland." Noble provisions were

pictured out for the rebuilding of the ruined churches at the Queen's expense, with "twelve free grammar schools," where the Irish youth should grow into civility, and "twelve hospitals for aged and impotent folk." A University should be founded in Elizabeth's name, and endowed with lands at Elizabeth's cost; and the devisers of all these things, warming with their project, conceived the Irish nation accepting willingly a reformed religion, in which there should be no more pluralities, no more abuse of patronage, no more neglect, or idleness, or profligacy. The bishops of the Church of Ireland were to be chosen among those who had risen from the Irish schools through the Irish University. The masters of the grammar schools should teach the boys "the New Testament, Paul's Epistles, and David's Psalms, in Latin, that they being infants might savour of the same in age, as an old cask doth of its first liquor." In every parish from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, there should be a true servant of God for a pastor, who would bring up the children born in the same in the knowledge of the Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Catechism; "the children to be brought to the Bishop for confirmation at seven years of age, if they could repeat them, or else to be rejected by the Bishop for the time with reproach to their parents."<sup>1</sup>

Here was an ideal Ireland, painted on the retina of some worthy English minister; but the real Ireland was still the old place: as it was in the days of Brian Boroihmie and the Danes, so it was in the days of Shan O'Neil and Sir Nicholas Arnold; and the Queen, who was to found all these fine institutions, cared chiefly to

<sup>1</sup> Device for the better government of Ireland: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*



burden her exchequer no further in the vain effort to drain the black Irish morass — fed as it was from the perennial fountains of Irish nature.

The Pope might have been better contented with the condition of his children : yet he too had his grounds of disquiet, and was not wholly satisfied with Shan, or with Shan's rough-riding primate. A nuncio had resided secretly for four years at Limerick, who from time to time sent information of the state of the people to Rome ; and at last an aged priest named Creagh, who in past days had known Charles the Fifth, and had been employed by him in relieving English Catholic exiles, went over with letters from the nuncio recommending the Pope to refuse to recognize the appointment of Terence Daniel to the Primacy, and to substitute Creagh in his place. The old man, according to his own story, was unambitious of dignity, and would have preferred "to enter religion" and end his days in a monastery. The Pope, however, decided otherwise. Creagh was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh in the Sistine Chapel, and was sent back "to serve among those barbarous, wild, uncivil folk," taking with him a letter from Pius to Shan O'Neil, "whom he did not know whether to repute for his foe or his friend."

Thus Ireland had three competing Primates : Adam  
Three  
Primates in  
Ireland. Loftus, the nominee of Elizabeth ; Shan's  
Archbishop, Terence Daniel ; and Creagh,  
sent by the Pope. The latter, however, had the misfortune to pass through London on his way home, where Cecil heard of him. He was seized and sent to the Tower, where "he lay in great misery, cold, and hunger," "without a penny," "without the means of getting his single shirt washed, and without gown or hose."

The poor old man petitioned "to be let go to teach youth." "He would do it for nothing," he said, "as he had done all the days of his life, never asking a penny of the Church or any benefice of any man;"<sup>1</sup> and so modest a wish might have been granted with no great difficulty, considering that half the preferments in England were held by men who scarcely affected to conceal that they were still Catholics. Either Creagh, however, was less simple than he pretended, or Cecil had reason to believe that his presence in Ireland would lead to mischief; he was kept fast in his cage, and would have remained there till he died, had he not contrived one night to glide over the walls into the Thames.

His imprisonment was perhaps intended as a gratification to Shan O'Neil. No sooner had he escaped than Elizabeth considered that of the two Catholic Archbishops Terence Daniel might be the least dangerous, and that to set Shan against the Pope might be worth a sacrifice of dignity. It was intimated that if Shan would be a good subject, he should have his own Primate, and Adam Loftus should be removed to Dublin.<sup>2</sup> Shan, on his part, gave the Queen to understand that when Terence was installed at Armagh, and he himself was created Earl of Tyrone, she should have no more trouble; and the events of the spring of 1565 made the English Government more than ever anxious to come to terms with a chieftain whom they were powerless to crush.

Since the defeat of the Earl of Sussex, Shan's influence and strength had been steadily growing. His re-

<sup>1</sup> Questions for Creagh, with Creagh's answers, February 22, 1565; Further answers of Creagh, March 17: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Private instructions to Sir Henry Sidney. Cecil's hand, 1565 *MS* *Ibid.*

turn unscathed from London, and the fierce attitude which he assumed on the instant of his reappearance in Ulster, convinced the petty leaders that to resist him longer would only ensure their ruin. O'Donnell was an exile in England, and there remained unsubdued in the north only the Scottish colonies of Antrim, which were soon to follow with the rest. O'Neil lay quiet through the winter. With the spring Shan O'Neil defeats the Scots. and the fine weather, when the rivers fell and the ground dried, he roused himself out of his lair, and with his galloglasse and kern, and a few hundred "harquebussmen," he dashed suddenly down upon the "Redshanks," and broke them utterly to pieces. Six or seven hundred were killed in the field; James M'Connell and his brother Sorleboy<sup>1</sup> were taken prisoners; and for the moment the whole colony was swept away. James M'Connell himself, badly wounded in the action, died a few months later, and Shan was left undisputed sovereign of Ulster.

The facile pen of Terence Daniel was employed to communicate to the Queen this "glorious victory," for which "Shan thanked God first, and next the Queen's Majesty; affirming the same to come of her good fortune."<sup>2</sup> The English Government, weary of the ill success which had attended their own dealings with the Scots, were disposed to regard them as a "malicious and dangerous people, who were gradually fastening on the country;"<sup>3</sup> and with some misgivings, they were inclined to accept Shan's account of himself; while Shan, finding Elizabeth disinclined to quarrel with him, sent Terence over to her to explain more

<sup>1</sup> Spelt variously Sorleboy, Sarlebos, Sarlebois, and Surlyboy.

<sup>2</sup> Terence Daniel to Cecil, June 24: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>3</sup> Opinion of Sir H. Sidney, May 20: *MS. Ibid.*

fully the excellence of his intentions. Sir Thomas Cusack added his own commendations both of Terence and his master, and urged that now was the time to make O'Neil a friend forever. Sir Nicholas Arnold, with more discrimination, insisted that it was necessary to do one thing or the other, but he too seemed to recommend the Queen, as the least of two evils, to be contented with Shan's nominal allegiance, and to leave him undisturbed.

"If," he said, "you use the opportunity to make O'Neil a good subject, he will hardly swerve hereafter. The Pale is poor and unable to defend itself. If he do fall out before the beginning of next summer, there is neither outlaw, rebel, murderer, thief, nor any lewd or evil-disposed person — of whom God knoweth there is plenty swarming in every corner amongst the wild Irish, yea, and in our own border too — which would not join to do what mischief they might."<sup>1</sup>

Alas! while Arnold wrote there came news that Shan's ambition was still unsatisfied. He had followed up his successes against the Scotch by seizing the Queen's castles of Newry and Dundrum. Turning west, he had marched into Connaught "to require the tribute due of owld time to them Invasion of Connaught. that were kings in that realm." He had exacted pledges of obedience from the western chiefs, frightened Clanrickard into submission, "spoiled O'Rourke's country," and returned to Tyrone, driving before him four thousand head of cattle. Instead of the intended four presidencies in Ireland, there would soon be only one; and Shan O'Neil did not mean to rest till he had revived the throne of his ancestors, and reigned once more in "Tara's halls."

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Cusack to Cecil, August 23; O'Neil to Elizabeth, August 25; Sir N. Arnold to the English Council, August 31: *Irish MSS. Rolls Hon*

“Excuse me for writing plainly what I think,” said Lord Clanrickard to Sir William Fitzwilliam.  
 October. “I assure you it is an ill likelihood toward — that the realm, if it be not speedily looked unto, will be at a hazard to come as far out of her Majesty’s hands as ever it was out of the hands of any of her predecessors. Look betimes to these things, or they will grow to a worse end.”<sup>1</sup>

The evil news reached England at the crisis of the convulsion which had followed the Darnley marriage. The Protestants in Scotland had risen in rebellion, relying on Elizabeth’s promises; and Argyle, exasperated at her desertion of Murray, was swearing that he would leave his kinsmen unrevengeed, and would become Shan’s ally and friend. Mary Stuart was shaking her sword upon the Border, at the head of 20,000 men; and Elizabeth, distracted between the shame of leaving her engagements unredeemed or bringing the Irish and Spaniards upon her head, was in no humour to encounter fresh troubles. Shan’s words were as smooth as ever; his expedition to Connaught was represented as having been undertaken in the English interest. On his return, he sent “a petition” to have “his title and rule” determined without further delay; while “in consideration of his good services” he begged “to have some augmentation of living granted him in the Pale,” and “her Majesty to be pleased not to credit any stories which his evil-willers might spread abroad against him.”<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth  
 resolves to  
 make the  
 best of  
 Shan.

Elizabeth allowed herself to believe what it was most pleasant to her to hope. “We must allow something,” she wrote to Sir

<sup>1</sup> Clanrickard to Fitzwilliam, October 11: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Shan O’Neil to Elizabeth, October 27: *MS. Ibid.*

Henry Sidney, "for his wild bringing up, and not expect from him what we should expect from a perfect subject; if he mean well, he shall have all his reasonable requests granted."<sup>1</sup>

But it was impossible to leave Ireland any longer without the presence of a deputy. Sir Nicholas Arnold had gone over with singular and temporary powers; the administration was out of joint, and the person most fitted for the government by administrative and military capacity was Leicester's brother-in-law, Sir Henry Sidney, President of Wales.

Sidney knew Ireland well from past experience. He had held command there under Sussex himself; he had seen deputy after deputy depart for Dublin with the belief that he at last was the favoured knight who would break the spell of the enchantment; and one after another he had seen them return with draggled plumes and broken armour. Gladly would he have declined the offered honour. "If the Queen would but grant him leave to serve her in England, or in any place in the world else saving Ireland, or to live private, it should be more joyous to him than to enjoy all the rest and to go thither." It was idle to think that O'Neil could be really "reformed" except by force; and "the Irishry had taken courage through the feeble dealing with him." If he was to go, Sidney said, he would not go without money. Ten or twelve thousand pounds must be sent immediately to pay the outstanding debts. He must have more and better troops; two hundred horse and five hundred foot at least, in addition to those which were already at Dublin. He would keep his patent as President of Wales; he would have leave to return to England at his dis-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Sir H. Sidney, November 11: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

cretion if he saw occasion; and for his personal expenses, as he could expect nothing from the Queen, he demanded — strange resource to modern eyes — permission to export six thousand kerseys and clothes free of duty.<sup>1</sup>

His requests were made excessive perhaps to ensure their refusal; but the condition of Ireland could not be trifled with any longer, and if he hoped to escape he was disappointed.

“In the matter of Ireland was found such an example as was not to be found again in any place; that a sovereign prince should be owner of such a kingdom, having no cause to fear the invasion of any foreign prince, neither having ever found the same invaded by any foreign power, neither having any power born or resident within that realm that denied or ever had directly or indirectly denied the sovereignty of the Crown to belong to her Majesty; and yet, contrary to all other realms, the realm of Ireland had been and yet continued so chargeable to the Crown of England, and the revenues thereof so mean, and those which were, so decayed and so diminished, that great yearly treasures were carried out of the realm of England to satisfy the stipends of the officers and soldiers required for the governance of the same.”<sup>2</sup>

Sir Henry Sidney paid the penalty of his ability in being selected to terminate in some form or other a state of things which could no longer be endured. Again before he would consent

Sir H. Sidney is chosen Deputy.

<sup>1</sup> Petition of Sir H. Sidney going to Ireland: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Instructions to Sir H. Sidney, October 5: *MS. Ibid.*

he repeated and even exaggerated his conditions. He would not go as others had gone, "fed on the chameleon's dish," to twine ropes of sand and sea-slime to bind the Irish rebels with. He would go with a force to back him, or he would not go at all. He must have power, he said, to raise as many men as the Queen's service required; and she must trust his honour to keep them no longer than they were absolutely wanted. No remedial measures could be attempted till anarchy had been trampled down; and then the country would prosper of itself."

"To go to work by force," he said, "will be chargeable it is true; but if you will give the people justice and minister law among them, <sup>Intended policy of Sidney.</sup> and exercise the sword of the sovereign, and put away the sword of the subject — *omnia hæc adjicientur vobis* — you shall drive the now man of war to be an husbandman, and he that now liveth like a lord to live like a servant; and the money now spent in buying armour and horses and waging of war should be bestowed in building of towns and houses. By ending these incessant wars ere they be aware, you shall bereave them both of force and beggary, and make them weak and wealthy. Then you can convert the military service due from the lords into money; then you can take up the fisheries now left to the French and the Spaniards; then you can open and work your mines, and the people will be able to grant you subsidies." <sup>1</sup>

The first step towards the change was to introduce a better order of government: and relapsing upon the

<sup>1</sup> Opinions of Sir H. Sidney: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*



scheme for the division into presidencies, Sidney urged Elizabeth to commence with appointing a President of Munster, where Ormond and Desmond were tearing at each other's throats. The expense — the first consideration with her — would be moderate. The President would be satisfied with a mark (13s. 4d.) a day; fifty men — horse and foot — would suffice for his retinue, with 9d. and 8d. a day respectively; and he would require two clerks of the signet, with salaries of a hundred pounds a year. The great Munster noblemen — Ormond, Desmond, Thomond, Clancarty, with the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Cork, Waterford, and Limerick, would form a standing council; and a tribunal would be established where disputes could be heard and justice administered without the perpetual appeal to the sword.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that we find in an arrangement which was introduced as a reform and as a means of justice the following clause: —

"Also it shall be lawful for the President and Council, or any three of them, the President being one, in cases necessary, upon vehement suspicion and presumption of any great offence in any party committed against the Queen's Majesty, to put the same party to torture as they shall think convenient." — Presidency of Munster, February 1, 1566: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

Even in England torture continued to be freely used. On December 23, 1566, a letter was addressed by the Privy Council to the Attorney-General and others, that: —

"Where they were heretofore appointed to put Clement Fisher, now prisoner in the Tower, in some fear of torture whereby his lewdness and such as he might detect might the better come to light, they are requested, for that the said Fisher is not minded to be plain, as thereby the faults of others might be known, to cause the said Fisher according to their discretion to feel some touch of the rack, for the better boulding out and opening of that which is requisite to be known." — *Council Register*. Eliz. MSS.

And again, January 18, 1567. A letter to the Lieutenant of the Tower: —

"One Rice, a buckler-maker, committed there, is discovered to have been concerned in a robbery of plate four years before; the lieutenant to examine the said Rice about this robbery, and if they shall perceive him not willing to confess the same then to put him in fear of the torture, and

A clause was added to the first sketch in Cecil's hand: "The Lord President to be careful to observe Divine service and to exhort others to observe it; and also to keep a preacher who shall be allowed his diet in the household, to whom the said President shall cause due reverence to be given in respect of his office which he shall have for the service of God."

With an understanding that this arrangement for Munster should be immediately carried out, that the precedent, if successful in the south, should be followed out in the other provinces, and that his other requests should be complied with, Sidney left London for Ireland in the beginning of December.

December.

Every hour's delay had increased the necessity for his presence. Alarmed at the approach of another deputy, and excited on the other hand by the Queen of Scots' successes, Shan O'Neil had attached himself eagerly to her fortunes. In October he offered to assist her against Argyle, who was then holding out against her in the Western Highlands.<sup>1</sup> His pleasure was as great as his surprise when he found Argyle ready to allow the Western Islanders to join with him to drive the English out of Ireland, and punish Elizabeth for her treachery to Murray. So far Argyle carried his resentment, that he met Shan somewhere in the middle of the winter, and to atone for the disgrace of his half-sister, he arranged marriages between a son and daughter which she had borne to Shan, and two children of James M'Connell, whom Shan had killed; O'Neil undertook to settle on them the disputed lands of Antrim,

Alliance  
between  
O'Neil and  
the Earl of  
Argyle.

to let him feel some smart of the same whereby he may be the better brought to confess the truth," — *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>1</sup> Adam Loftus to Leicester, November 20; *MS. Ibid.*

and Argyle consented at last to the close friendship in the interest of the Queen of Scots for which the Irish chief had so long been vainly suing.

No combination could be more ominous to England. Foul weather detained Sidney for six weeks at Holyhead. In the middle of January, but not without "the loss of all his stuff and horses," which were wrecked on the coast of Down, he contrived to reach Dublin: The state of things which he discovered on his arrival was worse than the worst which he had looked for. The English Pale he found "as it were overwhelmed with vagabonds; stealth and spoils daily carried out of it; the people miserable; not two gentlemen in the whole of it able to lend twenty pounds; without horse, armour, apparel, or victual." "The soldiers were worse than the people: so beggarlike as it would abhor a general to look on them." "Never a married wife among them," and therefore "so allied with Irish women," that they betrayed secrets, and could not be trusted on dangerous service; "so insolent as to be intolerable; so rooted in idleness as there was no hope by correction to amend them."

Sidney  
lands in  
Ireland

Condition of  
the country.

So much for the four shires. "In Munster," as the fruit of the Ormond and Desmond wars, "a man might ride twenty or thirty miles and find no houses standing," in a county which Sidney had known "as well inhabited as many counties in England." Connaught was quiet so far, and Clanrickard was probably loyal; but he was weak, and was in constant expectation of being overrun.

"In Ulster," Sidney wrote, "there tyrannizeth the prince of pride; Lucifer was never more puffed up with pride and ambition than that

March.

O'Neil is ; he is at present the only strong and rich man in Ireland, and he is the dangerouslest man and most like to bring the whole estate of this land to subversion and subjugation either to him or to some foreign prince, that ever was in Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

The Deputy's first step after landing was to ascertain the immediate terms on which the dreaded chief of the North intended to stand towards him. He wrote to desire Shan to come into the Pale to see him, and Shan at first answered with an offer to meet him at Dundalk ; but a letter followed in which he subscribed himself as Sidney's "loving gossip to command," the contents of which were less promising. For himself, Shan said, he had so much affection and respect for Sir Henry, that he would gladly go to him anywhere ; but certain things had happened in past years which had not been wholly forgotten. The Earl of Sussex had twice attempted to assassinate him. Had not the Earl of Kildare interfered, the Earl of Sussex, when he went to Dublin to embark for England, "would have put a lock upon his hands, and have carried him over as a prisoner." His "timorous and mistrustful people," after these experiences, would not trust him any more in English hands.<sup>2</sup>

All this was unpleasantly true, and did not diminish Sidney's difficulties. It was none the less necessary for him, however, to learn what he was to expect from Shan. Straining a point at the risk of offending Elizabeth, he accepted the services of Stukely, which gave the latter an opportunity of covering part of his misdoings by an act of good service, and sent him with another gentleman to Shan's castle, "to discover if possible what he was, and what he was like to at-

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Leicester, March 5: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Shan O'Neil to Sidney, February 18: *MS. Ibid.*

tempt.”<sup>1</sup> A better messenger, supposing him honest, could not have been chosen. Shan was at his ease with a person whose life was as lawless as his own. He had ceased to care for concealment, and spoke out freely. At first “he was very flexible but very timorous to come to the Deputy, apprehending traitorous practices.” One afternoon “when the wine was in him,” he put his meaning in plainer language. Stukely had perhaps hinted that there would be no earldom for him unless his doings were more satisfactory. The Irish heart and the Irish tongue ran over.

“I care not,” he said, “to be made an earl unless  
 O’Neill’s  
 Views for  
 himself. I may be better and higher than an earl, for  
 I am in blood and power better than the best  
 of them; and I will give place to none but my cousin  
 of Kildare, for that he is of my house. You have  
 made a wise earl of M’Carty More. I keep as good a  
 man as he. For the Queen I confess she is my Sovereign,  
 but I never made peace with her but by her  
 own seeking. Whom am I to trust? When I came  
 to the Earl of Sussex on safe conduct he offered me  
 the courtesy of a handlock. When I was with the  
 Queen, she said to me herself that I had, it was true,  
 safe conduct to come and go, but it was not said when  
 I might go; and they kept me there till I had agreed  
 to things so far against my honour and profit, that I  
 would never perform them while I live. That made  
 me make war, and if it were to do again I would do it.  
 My ancestors were kings of Ulster; and Ulster is mine,  
 and shall be mine. O’Donnell shall never come into  
 his country, nor Bagenal into Newry, nor Kildare into  
 Dundrum or Lecale. They are now mine. With this  
 sword I won them; with this sword I will keep them.”

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Leicester, March 5: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

"My Lord," Sidney wrote to Leicester, "no Attila nor Totila, no Vandal or Goth that ever was, was more to be doubted for overrunning any part of Christendom than this man is for overrunning and spoiling of Ireland. If it be an angel of heaven that will say that ever O'Neil will be a good subject till he be thoroughly chastised, believe him not, but think him a spirit of error. Surely if the Queen do not chastise him in Ulster, he will chase all hers out of Ireland. Her Majesty must make up her mind to the expense, and chastise this cannibal. She must send money in such sort as I may pay the garrison throughout. The present soldiers who are idle, treacherous, and incorrigible, must be changed. Better have no soldiers than those that are here now — and the wages must be paid. It must be done at last, and to do it at once will be a saving in the end. My dear Lord, press these things on the Queen. If I have not money, and O'Neil make war, I will not promise to encounter with him till he come to Dublin. Give me money, and though I have but five hundred to his four thousand, I will chase him out of the Pale in forty-eight hours. If I may not have it, for the love you bear me have me home again. I have great confidence in Lord Kildare. As to Sussex and Arnold, it is true that all things are in disorder and decay; but the fault was not with them — impute it to the iniquity of the times. These malicious people so hated Sussex, as to ruin him they would have ruined all. Arnold has done well and faithfully; and Kildare very well. Remember this, and if possible let him have the next garter that is vacant." <sup>1</sup>

To the long letter to his brother-in-law, Sidney

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Leicester March 5, (condensed): *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

added a few words equally anxious and earnest to Cecil. "Ireland," he said, "would be no small loss to the English Crown, and it was never so like to be lost as now. O'Neil has already all Ulster, and if the French were so eager about Calais, think what the Irish are to recover their whole island. I love no wars: but I had rather die than Ireland should be lost in my government."<sup>1</sup>

Evidently, notwithstanding all his urgency before he left England, notwithstanding the promises which he extracted from Elizabeth, the treasury doors were still locked. Months had passed; arrears had continued to grow; the troops had become more disorganized than ever, and the summer was coming, which would bring O'Neil and his galloglasse into the Pale, while the one indispensable step was still untaken which must precede all preparations to meet him. Nor did these most pressing letters work any speedy change. March

April.  
Sidney ap-  
plies for  
men and  
money.

went by and April came; and the smacks from Holyhead sailed up the Liffey, but they brought no money for Sidney and no despatches. At length, unable to bear his suspense and disappointment longer, he wrote again to Leicester:—

"My Lord, if I be not speedier advertised of her Highness's pleasure than hitherto I have been, all will come to naught here, and before God and the world I will lay the fault on England, for there is none here. By force or by fair means the Queen may have anything that she will in this country, if she will minister means accordingly, and with no great charge. If she will resolve of nothing, for her Majesty's advantage and for the benefit of this miserable country, persuade

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Cecil, March, 1566: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

her Highness to withdraw me, and pay and discharge this garrison. As I am, and as this garrison is paid, I undo myself; the country is spoiled by the soldiers, and in no point defended. Help it, my Lord, for the honour of God, one way or the other.”<sup>1</sup>

Two days later a London post came in, and with it letters from the Council. The help would have come long since had it rested with them. On the receipt of his first letter, they had agreed unanimously that every wish should be complied with. Money, troops, discretionary power — all should have been his — “so much was every man’s mind inclined to the extirpation of that proud rebel, Shan.” The Munster Council, which had hung fire also, should have been set on foot without a day’s delay; and Sir Warham St. Leger, according to Sidney’s recommendation, would have been appointed the first President. Elizabeth only had fallen into one of her periodic fits of ill-humour and irresolution, and would neither consent nor refuse. She had not questioned the justice of Sidney’s report; she was “heated and provoked with the monster” who was the cause of so much difficulty. Elizabeth  
quarrels  
with  
Sidney. Yet to ask her for money was to ask her for

her heart’s blood. “Your lordship’s experience of negotiation here in such affairs with her Majesty,” wrote Cecil, “can move you to bear patiently some storms in the expedition;” “the charge was the hindrance;” and while she could not deny that it was necessary, she could not forgive the plainness with which the necessity had been forced upon her.

She quarrelled in detail with everything which Sidney did; she disapproved of the Munster Council be

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Leicester, April 13: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*



cause Ireland could not pay for it; and it was useless to tell her that Ireland must be first brought into obedience. She was irritated because Sidney, unable to see with sufficient plainness the faults of Desmond and the exclusive virtues of Ormond, had refused to adjudicate without the help of English lawyers, in a quarrel which he did not understand. She disapproved of Sir Warham St. Leger, because his father, Sir Antony, had been on bad terms with the father of Ormond; she insisted that Sidney should show favour to Ormond, "in memory of his education with that holy young Solomon King Edward;"<sup>1</sup> and she complained bitterly of the employment of Stukely.

It was not till April was far advanced that the Council forced her by repeated importunities to consent that "Shan should be extirpated;" and even then she would send only half of what was wanted to pay the arrears of the troops. "Considering the great sums of money demanded and required of her in Ireland and elsewhere, she would be most glad that for reformation of the rebel any other way might be devised," and she affronted the Deputy by sending Sir Francis Knolles to control his expenditure. If force could not be dispensed with, Sir Francis might devise an economical campaign. "The cost of levying troops in England was four times as great as it used to be;" and it would be enough, she thought, if five or six hundred men were employed for a few weeks in the summer. O'Donnell, O'Reilly, and M'Guyre might be restored to their castles, and they could then be disbanded.<sup>2</sup> Such at least was her own opinion: should those, however, who had better

Elizabeth  
consents to  
the war  
with Shan.

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Sidney, March 27: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Instructions to Sir F. Knolles. By the Queen, April 18: *MS. Ibid.*

means of knowing the truth, conclude that the war so conducted would be barren of result, she agreed with a sigh that they must have their way. She desired only that the cost might be as small as possible; "the fortification of Berwick and the payment of our foreign debts falling very heavily on her."<sup>1</sup>

Such was ever Elizabeth's character. She had received the Crown encumbered with a debt which with self-denying thrift she was laboriously reducing, and she had her own reasons for disliking over frequent sessions of Parliament. At the last extremity she would yield usually to what the public service demanded, but she gave with grudging hand and irritated temper; and while she admitted the truth, she quarrelled with those who brought it home to her.

Shan meanwhile was preparing for war. He doubted his ability to overreach Elizabeth any more by words and promises, while the growth of the party of the Queen of Scots, his own connexion with her, and the Catholic reaction in England and Scotland, encouraged him to drop even the faint disguise behind which he had affected to shield himself. He mounted brass "artillery" in Dundrum Castle, and in Lifford at the head of Lough Foyle. The friendship with Argyle grew closer, and another wonderful marriage scheme was in progress for the alliance between the houses of M'Callum-More and O'Neil. "The Countess" was to be sent away, and Shan was to marry the widow of James M'Connell, whom he had killed — who was another half-sister of Argyle, and whose daughter he had married already and divorced. This business "was said to be the Earl's practice."<sup>2</sup> The Irish chiefs, it

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Sir F. Knolles. By the Queen, April 18: *Irish MSS Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney to the English Council, April 15: *MS. Ibid.*

seemed, three thousand years behind the world, retained the habits and the moralities of the Greek princes in the tale of Troy, when the bride of the slaughtered husband was the willing prize of the conqueror; and when only a rare Andromache was found to envy the fate of a sister

“Who had escaped the bed of some victorious lord.”

Aware that Sidney's first effort would be the restoration of O'Donnell, O'Neil commenced the campaign with a fresh invasion of Tyrconnell, where O'Neil invades Tyrconnell. O'Donnell's brother still held out for England; he swept round by Lough Erne, swooped on the remaining cattle of M'Guyre, and “struck terror and admiration into the Irishry.”<sup>1</sup> Then, stretching out his hands for foreign help, he wrote in the style of a king to Charles the Ninth of France.

“Your Majesty's father, King Henry, in times past required the Lords of Ireland to join with him against the heretic Saxon, the enemies of Almighty God, the enemies of the Holy Church of Rome, your Majesty's enemies and mine.<sup>2</sup> God would not permit that alliance to be completed, notwithstanding the hatred borne to England by all of Irish blood, until your Majesty had become King in France, and I was Lord of Ireland. The time is come, however, when we all are confederates in a common bond to drive the invader from our shores; and we now beseech your Majesty to send us six thousand well-armed men. If you will grant our request, there will soon be no Englishman left alive among us, and we will be your Majesty's subjects evermore.

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Meath to Sussex, April 27, 1566: Wright, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> “*Vestræ Majestatis et nostræ simul inimicos.*”

Help us, we implore you, to expel the heretics and schismatics, and to bring back our country to the holy Roman see."<sup>1</sup>

The letter never reached its destination; it fell into English hands. Yet in the "tickle" state of Europe, and with the progress made by Mary Stuart, French interference was an alarming possibility. More anxious and more disturbed than ever, Elizabeth made Sidney her scapegoat. Lord Sussex, ill repaying Sir Henry's generous palliation of his own shortcomings, envious of the ability of Leicester's brother-in law, and wishing to escape the charge which he had so well deserved of being the cause of Shan's "greatness," whispered in her ear that in times past Sidney had been thought to favour "that great rebel;" that he had addressed him long before in a letter by the disputed title of "O'Neil," and was, perhaps, his secret ally.

*Sussex intrigues against Sidney.*

Elizabeth did not seriously believe this preposterous story; but it suited her humour to listen to a suspicion which she could catch at as an excuse for economy. The preparations for war were suspended, and instead of receiving supplies, Sidney learnt only that the Queen had spoken unworthy words of him.

Sidney's blood was hot; he was made of bad materials for a courtier. He wrote at once to Elizabeth herself, "declaring his special grief at hearing that he was fallen from her favour," and "that she had given credit to that improbable slander raised upon him by the Earl of Sussex." He wrote to the Council, entreating them not to allow these idle stories to relax their energies in suppressing the rebellion; but he

<sup>1</sup> O'Neil to Charles IX. 1566: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

begged them at the same time to consider his own "unaptness to reside any longer in Ireland, or to be an actor in the war." The words which the Queen had used of him were gone abroad in the world. "He could find no obedience." "His credit being gone, his power to be of service was gone also." He Sidney demands his recall. therefore demanded his immediate recall, "that he might preserve the small remnant of his patrimony, already much diminished by his coming to Ireland." As for the charge brought against him by the Earl of Sussex, he would reply with his sword and body "against an accusation concealed hitherto he knew not with what duty, and uttered at last with impudency and unshamefastness." <sup>1</sup>

But Elizabeth meant nothing less than to recall Sidney. She neither distrusted his loyalty nor questioned his talents; she chose merely to find fault with him while she made use of his services. It was her habit toward those among her subjects whom she particularly valued. Sir Francis Knolles when he arrived at Dublin could report only that Sidney had gained the love and the admiration of every one; and that his plan for proceeding against O'Neil was the first which had ever promised real success. Campaigns in Ireland had hitherto been no more than summer forays — mere inroads of devastation during the few dry weeks of August and September. Sidney proposed to commence at the end of the harvest, when the corn was gathered in, and could either be seized or destroyed; and to keep the field through the winter and spring. It would be expensive; but money well laid out was the best economy in the end, and Sidney undertook, if he was allowed as many men as he thought requisite, and

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to the English Council, May 18: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

was not interfered with, "to subdue, kill, or expel Shan, and reduce Ulster to as good order as any part of Ireland." <sup>1</sup>

At first Elizabeth would not hear of it; she would not ruin herself for any such hairbrained madness. The Deputy must defend the Pale through the summer, and the attack on O'Neil, if attempted at all, should be delayed till the spring ensuing. But Sir Francis, who was sent to prevent expense, was the foremost to insist on the necessity of it. He explained that in the cold Irish springs the <sup>Plan for the campaign.</sup> fields were bare, the cattle were lean, and the weather was so uncertain, that neither man nor horse could bear it; whereas in August food everywhere was abundant, and the soldiers would have time to become hardened to their work. They could winter somewhere on the Bann, harry Tyrone night and day without remission, and so break Shan to the ground and ruin him. Two brigantines would accompany the army with supplies, and control the passage between Antrim and the Western Isles; and beyond all, Knolles reëchoed what Sidney had said before him on the necessity of paying wages to the troops, instead of leaving them to pay themselves at the expense of the people. Nothing was really saved, for the debts would have eventually to be paid, and paid with interest—while meanwhile the "inhabitants of the Pale were growing hostile to the English rule." <sup>2</sup>

The danger to the State could hardly be exaggerated. M'Guyre had come into Dublin, with his last cottage in ashes, and his last cow driven over the hills into Shan's country; Argyle, with the whole disposa-

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Cecil, April 17: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Sir F. Knolles to Cecil, May 19: *MS. Ibid.*

ble force of the Western Isles, was expected in person in Ulster in the summer.

Elizabeth's irritation had been unable to wait till she had received Knolles's letters. She made herself a judge of Sidney's projects; she listened to Sussex, who told her that they were wild and impossible. Whether Sussex was right or Sidney was right, she was called upon to spend money; and while Elizabeth will not consent to it. she knew that she would have to do it, she continued to delay and make difficulties, and to vex Sidney with her letters,

His temper boiled over again.

"I testify to God, to her Highness, and to you," he wrote on the 3d of June to Cecil, "that all the charge is lost that she is at with this manner of proceeding. O'Neil will be tyrant of all Ireland if he be not speedily withstood. He hath as I hear won the rest of O'Donnell's castles; he hath confederated with the Scots; he is now in M'Guyre's country. All this summer he will spend in Connaught; next winter in the English Pale. It may please the Queen to appoint some order for Munster—for it will be a mad Munster in haste else. I will give you all my land in Rutlandshire to get me leave to go into Hungary, and think myself bound to you while I live. I trust there to do my country some honour: here I do neither good to the Queen, to the country, nor myself. I take my leave in haste, as a thrall forced to live in loathsomeness of life."<sup>1</sup>

The Council, finding Sidney's views accepted and endorsed by Knolles, united to recommend them; a

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to Cecil, June 3: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

schedule was drawn out of the men, money, and stores which would be required; a thousand of the best troops in Berwick, with eight hundred Irish, was the increase estimated as necessary for the army; and the wages of eighteen hundred men for six months would amount to ten thousand four hundred and eighty pounds. Sixteen thousand pounds was already due to the Irish garrison. The provisions, arms, clothes, and ammunition would cost four thousand five hundred pounds; and four thousand pounds in addition would be wanted for miscellaneous services.<sup>1</sup>

The reluctance of Elizabeth to engage in an Irish campaign was not diminished by a demand for thirty four thousand nine hundred pounds. Sussex continued malignant and mischievous, and there was many a Catholic about the court who secretly wished O'Neil to succeed. "The Court," wrote Cecil to Sidney, "is not free from many troubles—amongst others none worse than emulations, disdains, backbitings, and such like, whereof I see small hope of diminution."

The Queen at the beginning refused to allow more than six hundred men to be sent from England, or more than four hundred to be raised in Ireland. To no purpose Cecil insisted; in vain Leicester challenged Sussex and implored his mistress to give way. "Her Majesty was absolutely determined." The Ormond business had created fresh exasperation. Sir Henry, though admiring and valuing the Earl of Ormond's high qualities, had persisted in declaring himself unable to decide the litigated questions between the house of Butler and the Desmonds. Archbishop Kirwan, the Irish Chancellor,

The Ormond and Desmond controversy.

<sup>1</sup> Notes for the army in Ireland, May 30. In Cecil's hand: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*



was old and incapable; the Deputy had begged for the assistance of some English lawyers; "but such evil report had Ireland that no English lawyer would go there."<sup>1</sup> The Queen flew off from the campaign to the less expensive question. Lawyer or no lawyer, she insisted that judgment should be given in Ormond's favour. She complained that the Deputy was partial to Desmond, and — especially wounding Sidney, whose chief success had been in the equity of his administration, and whose first object had been to check the tyrannical exactions of the Irish noblemen — she required him to make an exception in Ormond's favour, and permit "coyn and livery," the most mischievous of all the Irish imposts, to be continued in Kilkenny.

"I am extremely sorry," Sidney replied to Cecil, when the order reached him, — "I am extremely sorry to receive her Majesty's command to permit the Earl of Ormond to exercise coyn and livery, which have been the curse of this country, and which I hoped to have ended wholly. I would write more, if I did not hope to have my recall by the next east wind. Only weigh what I have said. Whatever becomes of me you will have as woeful a business here as you had in Calais if you do not look to it in time."<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth was not contented till she had written out her passion to Sidney with her own hand. She told him that she disapproved of all that he was doing. If he chose to persist, she would give him half the men that he required, and with those he might do what he could on his own responsibility.<sup>3</sup> It seemed, however, that she had relieved her feelings as soon as she had

Sidney again remonstrates, and Elizabeth a second time gives way.

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Sidney, June 16: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney to Cecil, June 24: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth to Sidney, June 15: *MS. Ibid.*

expressed them. A week later she yielded to all that was required of her. Cecil soothed Sidney's anger with a gracious message;<sup>1</sup> Sidney, since she was pleased to have it so, consented to remain and do his duty; and thus after two months had been consumed in quarrels, the preparations for the war began in earnest.

The troops from England were to go direct to Lough Foyle; to land at the head of the lake, and to move up to Lifford, where they were to entrench themselves and wait for the Deputy, who would advance from the Pale to join them. The command was given to Colonel Edward Randolph, an extremely able officer who had served at Havre; and the men were marched as fast as they could be raised to Bristol, the port from which the expedition was to sail, while Sidney was setting a rare example in Dublin, and spending the time till he could take the field "in hearing the people's causes."

Edward  
Randolph  
commands  
the troops  
from Eng-  
land.

Shan O'Neil, finding that no help was to be looked for from France, and that mischief was seriously intended against him, tried a stroke of treachery. He wrote to Sidney to say that he wished to meet him, and a spot near Dundalk being chosen for a conference, he filled the woods in the neighbourhood with his people, and intended to carry off the Deputy as a prize. Sir Henry was too wary to be caught. He came to the Border on the 25th of July; but he came in sufficient strength to defend himself; Shan did not appear, and waiting till Sidney had returned to Dublin, made a sudden attempt on the 29th to seize Dundalk. Young Fitzwilliam, who was in command of the English garrison there, was on the

July.  
O'Neil at-  
tacks Dun-  
dalk, and  
falls.

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Sidney, June 24: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

alert. The surprise failed. The Irish tried an assault but were beaten back, and eighteen heads were left behind to grin hideously over the gates. Shan himself drew back into Tyrone: to prevent a second occupation of Armagh Cathedral by an English garrison, he burnt it to the ground; and sent a swift messenger to Desmond to urge him to rise in Munster. "Now was the time or never to set upon the enemies of Ireland. If Desmond failed or turned against his country, God would avenge it on him."<sup>1</sup>

Had Sidney allowed himself to be forced into the precipitate decision which Elizabeth had urged upon him, the Geraldines would have made common cause with O'Neil. But so long as the English Government was just, Desmond did not care to carve a throne for a Celtic chief; he replied with sending an offer to the Deputy "to go against the rebel with all his power." Still more opportunely the Earl of Murray at the last moment detached Argyle from the pernicious and monstrous alliance into which he had been led by his vindictiveness against Elizabeth. The Scots of the Isles, freed from the commands of their feudal sovereign, resumed their old attitude of fear and hatred. Shan offered them all Antrim to join him, all the cattle in the country and the release of Surlyboy from captivity; but Antrim and its cattle they believed that they could recover for themselves, and James M'Connell had left a brother, Allaster, who was watching with eager eyes for an opportunity to revenge the death of his kinsman and the dishonour with which Shan had stained his race.

The Scots, though still few in number, hung as a

<sup>1</sup> Commendation from O'Neil to John of Desmond, September 9: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

cloud over the northeast. Dropping boat-loads of Highlanders from the Isles were guided to the coast by the beacon fires which blazed nightly over the giant columns of Fairhead. Allaster M'Connell offered his services to Sidney as soon as the game should begin; and Shan after all, instead of conquering Ireland, might have enough to do to hold his own. The weather was unfavourable, and the summer was wet and wild with westerly gales. Sir Edward Horsey, who was sent with money from London, was detained half August at Holyhead; Colonel Randolph and his thousand men were chafing for thirty days at Bristol, "fearing that their enemies the winds would let them that they should not help Shan to gather his harvest;"<sup>1</sup> and Sidney, as from time to time some fresh ungracious letter came from Elizabeth, would break into a rage again and press Cecil "for his recall from that accursed country."<sup>2</sup> Otherwise, however, the prospects grew brighter with the autumn. In the second week in September the Bristol transports were seen passing into the North Channel with a leading breeze. Horsey came over with the money; the troops of the Pale, with the long due arrears paid up, were ordered to Drogheda; and on the 17th, assured that by that time Randolph was in Lough Foyle, the Deputy, accompanied by Kildare, the old O'Donnell, Shan M'Guyre, and another dispossessed chief, O'Dogherty, took the field.

Randolph  
lands at  
Lough  
Foyle.

Passing Armagh, which they found a mere heap of blackened stones, they reached the Blackwater on the 23d. On an island in a lake

Sidney  
commences  
his march.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Randolph to Cecil from Bristol, September 3: *Irish MSS Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney to Cecil, September 10: *MS. Ibid*,

near the river, there stood one of those many robber castles which lend in their ruin such romantic beauty to the inland waters of Ireland. Report said that within its walls Shan had stored much of his treasure, and the troops were eager to take it. Sidney selected from among the many volunteers such only as were able to swim, and a bridge was extemporized with brushwood floated upon barrels. The army was without artillery; it had been found impracticable to carry a single cannon over roadless bog and mountain, and the storming party started with hand-grenades to throw over the walls. The bridge proved too slight for its work; slipping and splashing through the water the men got over, but their "fireworks" were wetted in the passage, and they found themselves at the foot of thirty feet of solid masonry without ladders and with no weapons but their bows and battle-axes. "The place was better defended and more strongly fortified" than Sidney had supposed. Several of the English were killed and many more were wounded; and the Deputy had the prudence to waste no more valuable lives or equally valuable days upon an enterprise which when accomplished would be barren of result. On the 24th the army crossed the river into Shan's own country. The Irish hung on their skirts but did not venture to molest them, and they marched without obstruction to Benbrook, one of O'Neil's best and largest houses, which they found "utterly burnt and razed to the ground." From Benbrook they went on towards Clogher, through pleasant fields and villages "so well inhabited as no Irish county in the realm was like it:" it was the very park or preserve into which the plunder of Ulster had been gathered; where the people enjoyed the profits of unlimited pillage, from which

till then they had been themselves exempt. The Bishop of Clogher was a "rebel," and was out with Shan in the field; his well-fattened flock were devoured by Sidney's men as by a flight of Egyptian locusts. "There we stayed," said Sidney, "to destroy the corn; we burned the country for twenty-four miles' compass, and we found by experience that now was the time of the year to do the rebel most hurt." Here died M'Guyre at the monastery of Omagh, within sight of the home to which he was returning, by the pleasant shores of Lough Erne. Here, too, the Earl of Kildare narrowly escaped being taken prisoner; he was surprised with a small party in a wood, attacked with "harquebusses and Scottish arrows," and hardly cut his way through.

Detained longer than he intended by foul weather, Sidney broke up from Omagh on the 2d of October, crossed "the dangerous and swift river there," "and rested that night on a neck of land near a broken castle of Tirlogh Lenogh, called the Salmon Castle." On the 3d he was over the Derry, and by the evening he had reached Lifford, where he expected to find Randolph and the English army.

At Lifford, however, no English were to be discovered, but only news of them.

Randolph, to whose discretion the ultimate choice of his quarters had been committed, had been struck, as he came up Lough Foyle, with the situation of Derry. Nothing then stood on the site of the present city, save a decrepit and deserted monastery of Augustine monks, which was said to have been built in the time of St. Columba; but the eye of the English commander saw in the form of the ground, in the magnificent lake, and the splendid tide river, a site for the foundation of a

powerful colony, suited alike for a military station and a commercial and agricultural town. There, therefore, Colonel Randolph had landed his men, and there Sidney joined him, and, after a careful survey, entirely approved his judgment. The monastery, with a few sheds attached to it, provided shelter. The English troops had not been idle, and had already entrenched themselves "in a very warlike manner." O'Donnell, O'Dogherty, and the other friends of England "agreed all of them that it was the very best spot in the northern counties to build a city."

At all events, for present purposes, the northern force was to remain there during the winter. Sidney stayed a few days at Derry, and then leaving Randolph with 650 men, 350 pioneers, and provisions for two months, continued his own march. His object was to replace O'Donnell in possession of his own country and castles, restore O'Dogherty and the other chiefs, and commit them to the protection of Randolph, while he himself would sweep through the whole northern province, encourage the loyal clans to return to their allegiance, and show the people generally that there was no part of Ireland to which the arm of the Deputy could not reach, to reward the faithful and punish the rebellious.

Donegal was his next point after leaving Lough Foyle — once a thriving town inhabited by English colonists — at the time of Sidney's arrival a pile of ruins, in the midst of which, like a wild beast's den strewn round with mangled bones, rose "the largest and strongest castle which he had seen in Ireland." It was held by one of O'Donnell's kinsmen, to whom Shan — to attach him to his cause

October.  
First settle-  
ment at  
Derry.

Sidney at  
Donegal.

— had given his sister for a wife. At the appearance of the old chief with the English army, it was immediately surrendered. O'Donnell was at last rewarded for his fidelity and sufferings, and the whole tribe, with eager protestations of allegiance, gave sureties for their future loyalty.

Leaving O'Donnell in possession, and scarcely pausing to rest his troops, Sidney again went forward. On the 19th he was at Ballyshannon; on the 22d, at Sligo; on the 24th he passed over the bogs and mountains of Mayo into Roscommon; and then "leaving behind them as fruitful a country as was in England or Ireland all utterly waste," the army turned their faces homewards, swam the Shannon at Athlone for lack of a bridge on the 26th, and so back to the Pale. Twenty castles had been taken as they went along, and left in hands that could be trusted. "In all that long and painful journey," Sidney was able to say that "there had not died of sickness but three persons;" men and horses were brought back in full health and strength, while "her Majesty's honour was reëstablished among the Irishry and grown to no small veneration"<sup>1</sup> — an expedition "comparable only to Alexander's journey into Bactria," wrote an admirer of Sidney to Cecil — revealing what to Irish eyes appeared the magnitude of the difficulty, and forming a measure of the effect which it produced. The English Deputy had bearded Shan in his stronghold, burnt his houses, pillaged his people, and had fastened a body of police in the midst of them to keep them waking in the winter nights. He had penetrated the hitherto impregnable fortresses of mountain

*Restoration  
of O'Donnell.*

*Returns to  
the Pale.*

<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Sidney and the Earl of Kildare to Elizabeth, November 12: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*



and morass. The Irish who had been faithful to England were again in safe possession of their lands and homes. The weakest, maddest, and wildest Celts were made aware that when the English were once roused to effort, they could crush them as the lion crushes the jackal.

Meantime Lord Ormond had carried his complaints to London, and the letter which Sidney found waiting his return was not what a successful commander might have expected from his sovereign. Before he started, he had repeated his refusal to determine a cause which he did not understand, without the help of lawyers. There was no one in Ireland of whom he thought more highly than of Lord Ormond; there was none that he would more gladly help; but disputed and complicated titles to estates were questions which he was unable to enter into. He could do nothing till the cause had been properly heard; and in the existing humour of the country it would have been mere madness to have led Desmond to doubt the equity of the English Government. But Sidney's modest and firm defence found no favour with Elizabeth. While he was absent in the North she wrote to Sir Edward Horsey desiring him to tell the Deputy that she was ill satisfied with his proceedings; he had allowed himself to be guided by Irish advisers; he had been partial to Desmond; "he that had least deserved favour had been most borne withal." While in fact he had done more for Ireland in the eight months of his government than any English ruler since Sir Edward Bellingham, the Queen insisted that he had attended to none of her wishes, and had occupied himself wholly with matters of no importance.

Most likely she did not believe what she said; but

Elizabeth  
still out of  
humour  
with  
Sidney.

Sidney was costing her money, and she relieved herself by finding fault.

"My good Lord," Cecil was obliged to write to him to prevent an explosion, "next to my most hearty commendations, I do with all my heart Cecil's advice to Sidney. condole and take part of sorrow to see your burden of government so great, and your comfort from hence so uncertain. I feel by myself — being also here wrapped in miseries, and tossed with my small vessel of wit and means in a sea swelling with storms of envy, malice, disdain and suspicion — what discomfort they commonly have that mean to deserve best of their country. And though I confess myself unable to give you advice, and being almost desperate myself of well-doing, yet for the present I think it best for you to run still an even course in government, with indifferency in case of justice to all persons, and in case of favour, to let them which do well find their comfort by you; and in other causes, in your choice to prefer them whom you find the Prince most disposed to have favoured. My Lord of Ormond doth take this commodity by being here to declare his own griefs; I see the Queen's Majesty so much misliking of the Earl of Desmond as surely I think it needful for you to be very circumspect in ordering of the complaints exhibited against him."<sup>1</sup>

It must be admitted that Elizabeth's letter to Horsey was written at the crisis of the succession quarrel in Parliament, and that her not unprovoked ill-humour was merely venting itself upon the first object which came across her: nor had she at that time heard of Sidney's successes in Ulster, and probably she despaired of ever hearing of successes. Yet when she

<sup>1</sup> Cecil to Sidney, October 20: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

did hear, the tone of her letters was scarcely altered, she alluded to his services only to reiterate her complaints; and she would not have gone through the form of thanking him had not Cecil inserted a few words of acknowledgment in the draft of her despatch.<sup>1</sup> Sidney's patience was exhausted. Copies of the Queen's disparaging letters were circulated privately in Dublin, obtained he knew not how, but with fatal effect upon his influence. He had borne Elizabeth's caprices long enough. "For God's sake," he wrote angrily on the 15th of November, in answer to Cecil's letter, "for God's sake get my recall; the people here know what the Queen thinks of me, and I can do no good."<sup>2</sup>

November.  
Sidney again  
demands his  
recall.

From these unprofitable bickerings the story must return to Colonel Randolph and the garrison of Derry. For some weeks after Sidney's departure all had gone on prosperously. The country people, though well paid for everything, were slow to bring in provisions; the bread ran short; and the men had been sent out poorly provided with shoes, or tools, or clothes. But foraging parties drove in sufficient beef to keep them in fresh meat. Randolph, who seems to have been a man of fine foresight, had sent to the English Pale for a supply of forage before the winter set in; he had written to England "for shirts, kerseys, canvas, and leather;" he kept Cecil constantly informed of the welfare and wants of the troops;<sup>3</sup> and for some time they were healthy and in high spirits, and either worked steadily at the fortress, or were doing good service in the field.

While Sidney was in Connaught, Shan, who had

<sup>1</sup> The words "for which we are bound to thank you" are inserted in Cecil's hand. — The Queen to Sidney, November, 1566.

<sup>2</sup> *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>3</sup> Edward Randolph to Cecil, October 27: *MS. Ibid.*

followed him to Lifford, turned back upon the Pale, expecting to find it undefended. He was encountered by Sir Warham St. Leger, lost two hundred men, and was at first hunted back over the Border. He again returned, however, with "a main army," burnt several villages, and in a second fight with St. Leger was more successful; the English were obliged to retire "for lack of more aid;" but they held together in good order, and Shan, with the Derry garrison in his rear, durst not follow far from home in pursuit. Before he could revenge himself on Sidney, before he could stir against the Scots, before he could strike a blow at O'Donnell, he must pluck out the barbed dart which was fastened in his unguarded side.

Knowing that he would find it no easy task, he was hovering cautiously in the neighbourhood of Lough Foyle, when Randolph fell upon him by surprise on the 12th of November. The O'Neils fled after a short, sharp action. O'Dogherty with his Irish horse chased the flying crowd, killing every man he caught, and Shan recovered himself to find he had lost four hundred men of the bravest of his followers. More fatal overthrow neither he nor any other Irish chief had yet received at English hands. But the success was dearly bought; Colonel Randolph himself, leading the pursuit, was struck by a random shot, and fell dead from his horse. The Irish had fortunately suffered too severely to profit by his loss. Shan's motley army, held together as it was by the hope of easily-bought plunder, scattered when the service became dangerous. Sidney, allowing him no rest, struck in again beyond Dundalk, burning his farms and capturing his castles.<sup>1</sup> The Scots came in

Defeat of  
O'Neal and  
death of  
Randolph.

<sup>1</sup> Sidney to the Lords of the Council, December 12: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

over the Bann, wasting the country all along the river side. Allaster M'Connell, like some chief of  
 December. The Scots attack O'Neil. SiouX Indians, sent to the Captain of Knock-  
 fergus an account of the cattle that he had  
 driven, and "the wives and bairns" that he had  
 slain.<sup>1</sup> Like swarms of angry hornets, these avenging  
 savages drove their stings into the now maddened and  
 desperate Shan, on every point where they could  
 fasten; while in December the old O'Donnell came  
 out over the mountains from Donegal, and paid back  
 O'Neil with interest for his stolen wife, his pillaged  
 country, and his own long imprisonment and exile.  
 The tide of fortune had turned too late for his own re-  
 venge: worn out with his long sufferings, he fell from  
 his horse at the head of his people with the stroke of  
 death upon him; but before he died he called his kins-  
 men about him and prayed them to be true to Eng-  
 land and their Queen; and Hugh O'Donnell, who suc-  
 ceeded to his father's command, went straight to Derry  
 and swore allegiance to the English crown.

Tyrone was now smitten in all its borders. Ma-  
 gennis was the last powerful chief who still adhered  
 to Shan's fortunes; the last week in the year Sidney  
 carried fire and sword through his country and left  
 him not a hoof remaining. It was to no purpose that  
 Shan, bewildered by the rapidity with which disasters  
 were piling themselves upon him, cried out now for  
 pardon and peace; the Deputy would not answer his  
 letter, and "nothing was talked of but his extirpation  
 by war only."<sup>2</sup>

A singular tragedy interrupted for a time the tide

<sup>1</sup> Allaster M'Connell to the Captain of Knockfergus; enclosed in a letter  
 of R. Piers to Sir H. Sidney, December 15: *Irish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Sidney to the English Council, January 18: *MS. Ibid.*

of English success, although the first blows had been struck by so strong a hand that Shan could not rally from them. The death of Randolph had left the garrison at Derry as — in the words of one of them — a headless people.<sup>1</sup> Food and clothing fell short, and there was no longer foresight to anticipate or authority to remedy the common wants of troops on active service. Sickness set in. By the <sup>A pestilence at Derry.</sup> middle of November “the flux was reigning among them wonderfully.”<sup>2</sup> Strong men soon after were struck suddenly dead by a mysterious disorder which no medicine would cure and no precaution would prevent. It appeared at last that either in ignorance or carelessness they had built their sleeping quarters over the burial ground of the Abbey, and the clammy vapour had stolen into their lungs and poisoned them. As soon as their distress was known, supplies in abundance were sent from England; but the vices of modern administration had already infected the public service, and a cargo of meal destined for the garrison of Derry went astray to Florida. No subordinate officer ventured to take the vacant command. “Many of our best men,” Captain Vaughan wrote a few days before Christmas, “go away because there is none to stay them; many have died: God comfort us!”<sup>3</sup>

Colonel St. Loo came at last in the beginning of the new year. The pestilence for a time abated, and the spirits of the men revived. St. Loo, to quicken their blood, led them at once into the enemy’s country; they returned after a foray of a few days driving before them seven hundred horses and a thousand

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Vaughan to Admiral Winter, December 18: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Wilfred to Cecil, November 15: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Vaughan to Winter, December 18: *MS. Ibid.*

authority as ever he had."<sup>1</sup> Lady Margaret Lennox, with clamour and almost menace, demanded her own and her husband's release. The Catholics were showing their hands already in expectation of the results of the interview, and to Mary Stuart herself a Jesuit emissary hastened prematurely across the channel, believing that all was safe. The Queen of Scots, elated at the answer brought back by Maitland, forgot her caution and commissioned Lord Seton to bring the man to her. Lord James Stuart happily heard of it in time. Partially unclosing his eyes he told his sister that "to see any such man might put her life in peril, and lead to the subversion of the whole state;" "and somewhat more was said to her grace, that she might know in what case she stood with her subjects at home and her neighbours abroad."<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneously there came accounts of movements of Spanish troops towards the French frontier. The garrisons of Fontarabia and Pampeluna were increased. De Quadra, by Philip's command, informed Elizabeth officially that his master was about to interfere in France; while Alva at Madrid, after some angry words on the affair of De Quadra's secretary, told Sir Thomas Chaloner that religion throughout Europe was made a cloak for anarchy and revolution, and that the Spanish Government would take order in time for its own security.<sup>3</sup> These symptoms, and many more, confirmed

<sup>1</sup> John Payn to Sir F. Englefield, July 24: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XXI, *Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, June 26: *Scotch MSS.* *Rolls House*.

<sup>3</sup> Philip II. to De Quadra, June 7: *MS. Simancas*. Chaloner to Cecil, Mason and Elizabeth, June 3 and July 10. One of Chaloner's expressions deserves recording. Alva had questioned him on the increase of the English fleet. Chaloner answered that it meant nothing; "but," he said, "according to the ancient discipline of England, when the French arm we *also* arm."

the arguments of Bacon. The Guises from time to time had affected a readiness to treat with the Prince of Condé, but every day made their insincerity more evident. Elizabeth's chief political virtue was the perception of the limits within which she might rely on her own opinion; and pressed on all sides and compelled to look the situation in the face, after driving the Council to desperation she at last gave way and consented to relinquish her project. Sir Henry Sidney was chosen to carry to Holyrood the intimation of the change. Elizabeth, he was instructed to say, had agreed to the interview in the belief that Condé and the Duke of Guise could have been reconciled. Of this there was no longer any hope. Instead of peace she heard of nothing but murder and ferocity. The Duke of Guise with the assistance of the Spaniards was preparing to exterminate the Protestants; and she therefore felt herself, though with deep regret, compelled for the present summer to abandon a journey to which she had looked forward with so much pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

The interview is abandoned.

With this message Sidney reached Edinburgh on the 21st of July. The purport of it was communicated first to Lord James and Maitland, by whom it was privately made known to their mistress; and "it drove her into such a passion as she did keep her bed all that day." Her schemings, so laboriously constructed, had collapsed like a child's card castle.

Yet Mary had schooled herself in patience; she had felt her power over Elizabeth, and delay was not refusal. Forcing herself into self-restraint she admitted Sidney to an audience the day after; and although "the demonstration of her grief still appeared in words,

<sup>1</sup> Minute to Sir H. Sidney, July 15: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I.



countenance, and watery eyes," she professed herself satisfied with Elizabeth's excuses and willing to believe her assurances of perpetual friendship.<sup>1</sup>

While, however, Elizabeth still wrote affectionately to "her good sister," her ministers found it necessary to come to an understanding with Maitland and Lord James — and to Maitland especially, who had professed himself his especial friend, Cecil wrote out his displeasure in plain terms. So anxious was Maitland to secure the Queen of Scots' interests that he appeared to have forgotten his earlier opinions and the claims of the English Protestants upon him. Even after such an evidence as Elizabeth had given, in her long resistance to her Council, of her desire to gratify Mary, he had affected to be dissatisfied with her offered concessions, and to consider a mere promise of recognition an inadequate price for the ratification of the treaty. In a tone of affected humility he wrote in answer to Cecil to deprecate his displeasure.<sup>2</sup> But he was no

Maitland is  
no longer  
true to  
England.

longer dealing uprightly either with his English friends or with his Protestant colleagues in Scotland. "The Jesuit," whom Lord James had prevented his sister from seeing, was conveyed secretly by Maitland into her presence, where "he remained long in purpose." The man's business was supposed to be connected with the Council of Trent; but Randolph, who had shaken himself clear of Mary's fascinations, "suspected that there was more in it;" and he "assured" Cecil that the Queen of Scots "could well enough keep her own counsel when

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Sidney to Cecil, July 25; *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> "It was easy to judge by your letter that your choler was stirred; yet I pray you let it not be extended further than is reasonable," &c. — Maitland to Cecil, July 29: *Ibid.*

she had no will that any man should be privy of her doings." <sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the Protestants in the English Council were improving their victory. Sir Edward Warner was directed to cause "the late bishops, now Proceedings against the Catholics. prisoners in the Tower," "to be more straitly shut up, so as they might not have such common conference as they used to have;" "much trouble being likely to grow to the Commonwealth if their practices might take effect." <sup>2</sup> The laws against persons attending mass were set in force more strictly again, and at the beginning of September Grindal and Coxe, two of the opposition prelates, suggested the use of torture as a fitting means of obtaining evidence. <sup>3</sup> Cecil himself in a series of brief notes sketched the danger to England if Condé was overthrown. "Philip and the Guises would become the dictators of Europe; Spain would have Ireland; the Queen of Scots would marry Don Carlos; the Council of Trent would pass a general sentence against all Protestants, and the English Catholics, directed and supported from abroad, would rise in universal rebellion." <sup>4</sup> He desired Throgmorton to assist him in counteracting the Bishop of Aquila, whose influence was still dangerously powerful, by setting the condition of France before Elizabeth in plain colours.

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Council Register*, July 26.

<sup>3</sup> "On a search of Lady Carew's house, neither the priest nor any of his auditors, not even the kitchen maid, would tell anything. Some thought that if the priest were put to some kind of torment, and so driven to confess what he knoweth, he might gain the Queen's Majesty a good mass of money." — *The Bishops of London and Ely to the Council*, September 13: *Burleigh Papers*, Vol. I. Intimations of such a kind make Elizabeth's dislike of her episcopal creatures less unintelligible.

<sup>4</sup> "Perils if the Prince of Condé be overthrown." In Cecil's *Hand*: Forbes, Vol. II.

Throgmorton had but to tell the truth ; he could say nothing more alarming. One after another the towns which had declared for the Huguenots had fallen. Angers, Tours, Poitiers, Bourges were taken in rapid succession, and in every instance the capture was followed by indiscriminate massacre. The Duc d'Aumale failed at Rouen, and Condé threw in reinforcements ; but the siege was only suspended ; the Catholics were preparing to return in overwhelming force.

From the south the accounts were even more dreadful ; both sides becoming savage there as the famished wolves of the Pyrenees. Later in the summer the Huguenot town of Orange fell into the hands of the Catholics. The inhabitants were hacked in pieces, burnt at slow fires, or were left infamously mutilated to bleed to death. Young wives and maidens, after suffering first what made death welcome to them, were hung out of the windows as targets for the musketeers. Noble ladies, first sacrificed to the lust of the soldiers, were exposed in the streets to die — either naked or pasted over in devilish mockery with the torn leaves of their Geneva Bibles — the word of a God who for His own purposes left them to endure their agony. Old men and children, women and sick, all perished — perished under cruelties unexampled even in the infer-

August.  
Des Adrets  
in the south  
of France.

nal annals of religious fanaticism. Des Adrets, a Huguenot leader, surprised a detachment of the men who had been concerned in this business at Orange while fresh from the scene. With the cowardice of villains they durst not defend themselves in a fort which was otherwise impregnable — and Des Adrets hurled them down over the rocks, dashed them limb from limb ; burnt, tore, and tortured them with a rage which tried yet failed to satisfy the cravings of

justice. Still parched for blood the Calvinist chief appeared before Montbrisson. It surrendered without a blow ; but a plank was run out from the battlements of the castle, and the garrison, man by man, were driven out upon it and over it—Des Adrets sitting below watching the ghastly heap as it rose, and shouting to the victims to make haste as they shivered at the hideous leap.

Des Adrets had a life charmed against steel or ball, and a career charmed against defeat ; but his successes were on a small scale while his cruelties were paraded in the Catholic camps and shouted from Catholic pulpits. Guise's progress was swift, broad, and steady. Toulouse fell next amidst horrors of which a Catholic archbishop—so true to his type is the prelate of the Holy Roman Church—but lately invited his flock to celebrate the third centenary. The German help was slow in coming ; Condé's troops fell from him, and by the middle of August the Protestant cause appeared to be hopeless.

Desperately pushed, the Prince had only England to look to. Normandy was still in his hands ; and renewing the proposals which had before been hinted at, and which Elizabeth was once inclined to welcome, he offered to place in her hands the towns of Havre and Dieppe, to be held as securities for Calais, if she on her part would send him men and money. For a French Prince to reintroduce the English into Normandy was a kind of treason. Even among the Calvinists there were men to whom their country was dearer than their creed ; and the chivalrous Morvillier, who had defeated the Duc d'Aumale before Rouen, when he heard what Condé proposed resigned his command.<sup>1</sup> Disinterested assistance, how-

Condé offers  
Havre and  
Dieppe to  
Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> Varillas.

ever, was not to be looked for; and without support of some kind the Reformation in France was lost. An Englishman calling himself John Stirrell<sup>1</sup> gave Cecil notice that the proposal would be made<sup>2</sup> on the 3d of August. Throgmorton wrote to Lord Clinton that Havre would be a cheap bargain "though it should cost a million of crowns." The recovery of Calais was the smallest of the advantages which it promised. The Queen would dictate peace on her own terms and have nothing more to fear.<sup>3</sup> In the middle of the month the Vidame of Chartres appeared in London with powers from Condé to conclude the bargain, and the keys of the two towns in his hands.

Elizabeth, as usual, was uncertain and reluctant. On the 17th Cecil "feared the worst." He "doubted much of the Queen's Majesty." He felt assured she would send no men to Condé; he could scarcely hope that she would lend money.<sup>4</sup> She consented to send a fleet into the Channel under a plea of protecting English commerce, and she sent Henry Knowles to feel the temper of the Germans; but alone and till Knowles's return she refused to move further.

But events were again too strong for her. Gresham reported from Antwerp that her hesitation was ruining her credit. It was said on the Bourse that if she lost the opportunity she might count her crown as lost. He had applied for a loan, but "the Fuggers had lent their money elsewhere." "The moneyed men were afraid to deal further with her." "There was none other communication, but that if M. de Guise had the upper hand of the Protestants, the French King, the

<sup>1</sup> Probably an assumed name.

<sup>2</sup> *Common MSS.*

<sup>3</sup> Throgmorton to the Lord Admiral, August 3: *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cecil to Throgmorton, August 17: *Ibid.*

King of Spain, the Pope, and all those of that religion would set upon the Queen's Majesty for religion's sake." Therefore "great doubt was cast upon her estate and credit." The English nation was at stay; and "glad was the man that might be quit of an Englishman's bill."<sup>1</sup>

Gresham could only recommend Elizabeth to buy saltpetre and set her powder-mills to work without delay.

To arguments like these Elizabeth was singularly accessible. On the 25<sup>th</sup> Cecil was able to tell Throgmorton that he thought she would give way; on the 29<sup>th</sup> he wrote that the agreement was concluded. An English army would occupy Havre till Calais was restored. The Queen would lend Condé a hundred thousand crowns, and spend forty thousand more on the defence of Rouen.

Alliance  
between  
Elizabeth  
and Condé.

No time was to be lost. As soon as the agreement was known it was supposed that Guise would make some desperate effort, and Throgmorton's life had been already threatened in Paris. Guise himself, with Navarre and Montmorency, were at Blois. The Queen-mother and the King, not daring "to commit themselves into the hands of the furious Parisians," lay with a strong guard at the Bois de Vincennes; while in Paris itself the people "did daily most cruelly use and kill every person, no age or sex excepted, that they took to be contrary to their religion."<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth's intention was to profess to be at war merely with "the tyrannical House of Guise," to deliver from their hands her friend and ally the King of France. Her ambassador, therefore, would still remain

<sup>1</sup> Gresham to Cecil, August 8 and August 16: *Flanders MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> Throgmorton to Elizabeth, August: *Conway MSS.*

at the Court. But Throgmorton being personally obnoxious to all parties except the Huguenots, and his life being unsafe, it was determined to send Sir Thomas Smith in his place and to recall him to England.

As the news of the English intervention however would precede the arrival of his successor, Throgmorton durst not remain in Paris to face the consequences. He applied for leave to follow the King to the camp of the Duke of Guise; and he attached himself to a convoy of artillery and powder on its way to the Catholic army — the fate of which he perhaps foresaw. It was intercepted by the Admiral, and was carried with the ambassador into Orleans.

Neither Elizabeth nor Condé, prepared as they were for some outcry, anticipated the rage with which the conditions of the English alliance were received by the French. Guise first attempted to march on Havre

September. before the English arrived; then finding it impossible to save Havre while Rouen was untaken, and ready to sacrifice every other interest for France, he offered Condé the Edict of January, and universal toleration, sooner than permit a prince of the blood royal to betray his country. Even Condé himself, staggered by the name of traitor and the desertion of Morvillier, began to hesitate; and Throgmorton had to insist that after allowing Elizabeth to commit herself he could not honourably accept Guise's offer without Elizabeth's consent.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth herself too seemed more careful of her own interests than of the interests of religion. Desirous only of securing an equivalent for Calais she declined to send troops to Rouen or to allow them to pass beyond the lines of Havre and Dieppe, while Condé's

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton to Cecil, September 9: *Conway MSS.*

object was to have an English contingent in the field with him. "The Prince and the Admiral," Throgmorton wrote to the Queen, "say it will be a great note of infamy in them thus to have introduced the English into Normandy only to hold certain towns which they may detain at their pleasure. They would have your Majesty serve their turn as well as your own." He warned Elizabeth, with a prescience of the inevitable future, that if she thought only of herself, and if the two parties were eventually reunited, she "would have the whole force of France combined against her."<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the warning was thrown away. Elizabeth wished well on the whole to freedom, and was ready at the last emergency to fight for it; but truth and right in her mind were never wholly separated from advantage. She drove hard bargains and occasionally overreached herself by excess of shrewdness. Condé, when he understood her resolution, sent to Havre to charge the governor not to allow the English to enter. Either the Vidame, however, or some one else, was not so scrupulous. "It stood upon us," said Cecil, "not to neglect the matter, and by other means we obtained a probability to receive us if we would enter."<sup>2</sup>

On the 2d of October the first detachment of the English army sailed from Portsmouth, and on the 4th Sir Adrian Poynings with three thousand men, was in possession of the town. The command in chief was given to the Earl of Warwick, Lord Robert Dudley's elder brother, who was to follow at leisure with the remainder of the troops.

October.  
An English  
army occupies  
Havre.

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton to Elizabeth, September 24: Forbes, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Cecil to —, October 11: Wright's *Elizabeth*, Vol. I.



Simultaneously the Catholics had re-formed the siege of Rouen. On the 28th of September Guise sat down before it in force, accompanied by Navarre, St. André, the Constable, the Queen-mother, and the boy King. The garrison was too small by far for the works which they had to defend; and the first step taken by Poynings was to risk Elizabeth's anger and to allow five hundred volunteers to ascend the river and attempt to make their way through Guise's lines. Killigrew of Pendennis, "Strangways the rover," young Leighton of Shropshire, friends of Peter Carew and Wyatt, were the leaders of the expedition. The men were chiefly the west country privateers who on Mary's death had emerged from their pirate nests into Elizabeth's service. The boats were fired on at the shallows of Caudebèque; Killigrew was hurt and Strangways was mortally wounded. A barge ran on the sands; the crew were taken prisoners and carried into Guise's camp, where they were hanged on trees with a scroll above their heads — "*pour avoir venus contre la volonté de la Roynie d'Angleterre au service des Huguenotz.*"<sup>1</sup> The rest cut their way into Rouen, to play the part of brave men there before they joined their lost companions; while the troops left at Havre worked day and night entrenching and fortifying, and endeavouring, by strictness of demeanour and discipline, to conciliate the inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Smith to Sir N. Throgmorton, October 17: Forbes, Vol. I.

<sup>2</sup> Order to be observed by the English soldiers now serving in New Havre, set forth by Sir Adrian Poynings, lieutenant to the Queen, in the absence of the Earl of Warwick: —

1. That every captain and soldier, immediately after their arrival in the church or market-place, shall devoutly together yield thanks to God by singing of some psalm or other prayer that shall be appointed for their good passage and safe arrival.

2. That every soldier behave himself towards the French in all loving,

Elizabeth herself meanwhile was endeavouring to justify her interference to her brother-in-law of Spain. A Spanish army was already in Guienne; a Spanish contingent was on its way to join Guise; and Philip in a solemn letter had adjured Elizabeth, if she valued her throne, to give no countenance to rebels and traitors, and to allow herself to be guided by De Quadra.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth in reply insisted that the Duke of Guise was and ever had been an enemy of England. He had conspired against her own title in favour of his niece; he had "evicted Calais from the English

courteous, and gentle manner; and that no man, of what degree soever he be of, presume to lodge himself other than shall be appointed by such officers as have authority for the same, pain of imprisonment.

3. That no soldier presume to take any victual or any other thing by violence or otherwise from the French without agreeing and paying for the same, upon pain of death.

4. No soldier make quarrel or broil with the French upon pain of death.

5. No Englishman to draw weapon in the town on pain of death.

6. No Englishman upon any quarrel outside the town to draw weapon, upon pain of loss of his right hand and banishment from the town.

7. No blow to be struck *without* weapons, either day or night, pain of loss of right hand.

8. No soldier to pass the gates without license.

9. No soldier to steal or embezzle weapon or armour, pain of death.

10. That soldier that is taken swearing any detestable or horrible oath, or shall be found drunk, shall receive six days' imprisonment for the first time, and pay a day's wages to him that shall present him, so the same be presented within three hours after; and for the second default shall receive ten days' imprisonment and be banished the town as a disordered person.

11. That no soldier use any unlawful game, as dice, cards, tables "making or marring," pain of six days' imprisonment.

12. Soldier taken outside his lodgings without his sword and dagger, one day's imprisonment.

13. No soldier shall lend any money upon any weapon or armour, ten days' imprisonment and loss of the money lent.

14. Sentinels leaving their post on the walls, *death*.

15. That no soldier keep any woman other than his wedded wife. -- *Rolls House MS.*

<sup>1</sup> Philip II. to Elizabeth, September 11: *Spanish MS. R.Us House.*

Crown ;" which, although bound to restore by treaty, he made no secret of his intention to keep. The disturbance in France gave her an opportunity of recovering it which she refused to neglect ; Calais alone she protested was her object ; and in pursuit of it she expected rather countenance and help from her allies than menace and opposition. When Calais was restored she promised to recall her troops from French soil.<sup>1</sup>

Elizabeth declares that she seeks only to recover Calais.

In England the irritation of the Catholics bubbled over in an abortive movement on the part of a nephew of Reginald Pole. The grandchildren of the Countess of Salisbury retained the appellation and something of the interest of "the White Rose."<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Huntingdon, the child of Lady Salisbury's daughter, was the Protestant candidate for the succession. Geoffrey Pole, Reginald's brother, who had turned Queen's evidence against his mother and Lord Montague, had left two sons behind him, Arthur and Edward. Arthur the eldest, an extravagant and profligate youth, had married a daughter of the Earl of Northumberland ; though ready to be guided by his friends, he held his title to be as good as or better than his cousin's ; and growing discontented with England he proposed to De Quadra to enter the service of Philip, with a dozen other gentlemen.

De Quadra, to whose caution young Pole did not

<sup>1</sup> "To the recovery whereof we do heartily require you to be such a mean as may stand with the indifferency of your friendship, and with the opinion that the world had conceived how ready you ought to be to procure the restitution of the town of Calais to this our crown ; and in so doing we assure you we shall be found most ready to revoke our forces, and to live as we did before these troubles in full and perfect rest." — Elizabeth to Philip II., September 30: *Spanish MS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Viniendo la corona á los de aquella casa del Duque de Clarencio que llaman de la Rosa Blanca. — De Quadra to Philip: *MS. Simancas.*

recommend himself, declining his advances, he went next to the French ambassador and professed an anxiety to join the Duke of Guise.

Paul de Foix, to whom he appeared but a wild hair-brained boy, advised him to keep out of mischief, and added that the Duke of Guise would not regard with much favour a rival pretender who might interfere with Mary Stuart. De Foix, however, afterwards consulted De Quadra. Pole pretended that he could carry with him the good wishes of half the peerage. He agreed to make over such claims as he possessed to the Queen of Scots, if on coming to the throne she would revive in his favour the dukedom of Clarence; and as he professed himself able to raise Wales in insurrection, Guise considered that he might possibly be useful, and offered to receive him. With his brother, his brother-in-law Antony Fortescue, and a number of other youths, he attempted to escape from the Thames; but he was betrayed, taken, and thrown into the Tower. His intention he did not attempt to conceal. He was tried for treason and condemned to die; but Elizabeth wisely spared him.<sup>1</sup>

Arrest of  
Arthur and  
Edward  
Pole.

A far graver danger threatened the country a few days after the arrest of Arthur Pole.

The Queen, spending October at Hampton Court, felt herself one day faint and unwell. Never suspecting that her sensations were the first symptoms of small-pox, she went into the air, caught cold, and in a few hours was in high fever. The eruption was checked. She grew rapidly and alarmingly worse. On the night of the 15th Cecil was sent for in haste, and the physicians told him that unless there was a change for the better she had but a

Elizabeth  
is attacked  
by small-  
pox.

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Philip, September and December, 1562: *MS. Simanca*.

few days to live. The following morning there was no improvement. The Council were called down from London; and such of the peers as were within reach hastened to join them. The solitary cord which held England together was threatening to snap; and all the passions, doubts, fears, jealousies, distrusters, and superstitions which distracted the country were soon represented within the palace. Should the Queen die, no ray of light or hope could have been seen through the black mass of impending cloud. In the evening she sank into a stupor, "without speech;" and with blank faces, in the ante-chamber of the room where she was believed to be dying, the Council sat into the night to consider the fatal question of the succession.

The suc-  
cession.

So far as De Quadra could learn there were three opinions. One group of statesmen (he does not mention their names) took their stand on the will of Henry the Eighth, and declared for Lady Catherine Grey. Bedford, Norfolk, and Pembroke, disliking their experience of female sovereigns, were in favour of Huntingdon, and so was Lord Robert Dudley, who was now on good terms with him. The Queen of Scots was barely named. "The wisest and most dispassionate protested against deciding anything with haste and dividing the realm." The aged Winchester recommended that the conflicting titles should be examined by the Crown lawyers and judges; and that they should all bind themselves to maintain that person, whoever it might be, who should be found to have the soundest claim. In this last opinion the rest were said to have concurred.<sup>1</sup>

Parties in  
the realm.

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, October 16 and 17; De Quadra to Philip, October 25: *MS. Simancas*.

In a matter of European importance the Spanish ambassador was likely to have been well informed. His account may be accepted as substantially correct: and it speaks well for the good sense of Elizabeth's advisers: but their moderation was not exposed to further trial; at midnight the fever cooled, the skin grew moist, the spots began to appear, and after four hours of unconsciousness Elizabeth returned to herself. The Council crowded round the bed. She believed that she was dying: her first words before she had collected her senses were of Lord Robert, and she begged that he might be made Protector of the Realm. As she grew more composed, her mind still running on the same subject, she said she loved Lord Robert dearly, and had long loved him; but she called God to witness that "nothing unseemly" had ever passed between them.<sup>1</sup> She commended her cousin Lord Hunsdon to the care of the Council, and still in expectation of immediate death mentioned others of her household for whom she wished provision to be made. She was then left to rest.

By the morning the eruption had come out—and the danger was over. The Queen rallied as The Queen recovers. rapidly as she had sunk, and England breathed again; only the succession question, having been brought so close with its tremendous issues, demanded solution with louder peremptoriness; the cry rose that Parliament must meet, and in some way or other put an end to the uncertainty; the country would endure no longer a protraction of its present peril.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Protestó la Reyna en aquel punto que aunque amaba á Milord Roberto ya le habia siempre amado mucho, era Dios testigo que no habia pasado entre ellos cosa desconveniente."

<sup>2</sup> Rumours—true, false, or a mixture of both—informed De Quadra

For many days the Queen remained confined to her room, unable to attend to business. Meanwhile a letter arrived from Spain, and De Quadra demanded an audience of the Council to communicate its contents.

He was received with unusual form, the Bishop of Rochester as Grand Almoner leading him in, which he interpreted into an intended insult. The letter was a command from Philip, more positive than before, that England should take no part in the French war, and that the troops—if troops had already been despatched—should be recalled on the instant.

Cecil replied, that Elizabeth could not allow the House of Guise to become dominant again. The Queen-mother and the King were prisoners in their hands; and going bravely to the point he said that England would not sit still and see the Protestants murdered.

De Quadra answered, that he knew nothing of the Guises; but this he knew, that to call in question the existing Government in France was alike frivolous in itself and an insult to his own master, who considered it so good that he would support it if necessary with the whole strength of Spain. To encourage subjects

six weeks later that a meeting was held at the house of Lord Arundel to reconsider the question. Norfolk was present, and Lord William Howard; and the object was to further the claims of Lady Catherine Grey, to whose son Norfolk's infant daughter was to be betrothed. The discussion lasted till two in the morning, and ended without result. When the Queen heard of it she cried for anger. She sent for Arundel to reproach him; and Arundel, De Quadra was told, replied that if she intended to govern England with her caprices and fancies, the nobility would be forced to interfere.—De Quadra to Philip, November 30: *MS. Simancas*. Whether these and similar stories were fictions or realities, it is to be remembered that they were related by an ambassador who was in close and daily intercourse with Elizabeth; that they were addressed to Philip, who was intimately acquainted with her; and the laws of human imagination forbid men to invent under such circumstances what is wholly inconsistent with probability.

Scene at the  
Council  
board be-  
tween Cecil  
and De  
Quadra.

in rebellion for a heretical creed was a scandal which could lead only to a general war in Christendom ; and those he said were ill friends to their sovereign who encouraged her in forsaking the duties of a Christian prince.

Cecil, who knew that on this point half the Council agreed with the Bishop, turned the discussion upon Calais, where he was more sure of sympathy. Calais, he said, had been lost in the King of Spain's quarrel. The Guises had taken it, and meant to keep it ; and come what would it should be wrested out of their hands.

Both sides were losing temper. The Bishop said that Calais was lost through no fault of the King of Spain ; it was lost by the folly and incapacity of those who had charge of the town, and those who said otherwise, to make his master odious, lied.

There was not a man in England, Cecil fiercely retorted, who did not know that the war had been undertaken solely to please Philip.

Pembroke, Arundel, and Clinton, who had been on Mary's Council, declared that Cecil was right. They had done their best to prevent the war ; but the King and Queen had insisted upon it. De Quadra again contradicted them, and the meeting broke up in a storm of reproach and menace.<sup>1</sup>

Yet there was a party, and a large party, who disapproved on principle of the expedition to Havre as cordially as they had disapproved of the wars of Philip and Mary. The occupation of Boulogne had promised fairly and had ended in disaster.<sup>2</sup> Poynings for the

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Philip, October 25: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> "What account I may make of these doings I must require time to teach me. Sir John Raynsford, when Boulogne was gotten, seeing every



present held Havre firmly, and a thousand men were in Dieppe; but at Dieppe the English had been received with outcry and opposition, and if Rouen fell might look to be immediately attacked there.

Whether Rouen could be relieved appeared every day more doubtful. Rochefoucault, who was to have joined Condé from the south, had been intercepted and cut up by the Spaniards. A promised German contingent could not march for want of money; and the Prince wrote pressing to Elizabeth for an additional 5000 men. Elizabeth, however, afraid of committing herself with Spain, would not or durst not venture deeper than she had already entered. Condé, seeing her centering her strength exclusively in the coast towns, believed justly that she was thinking more of Calais than of him; while Guise and Navarre again promised the Protestants a "peaceable assurance of their religion" if they would join in "expelling the English from the realm as the antient enemies of the crown."<sup>1</sup>

The Prince, notwithstanding his suspicions, sent an honourable refusal; and before he despatched his letter let the English ambassador read it. Yet a correspondence continued with Guise's camp. "There is great fear," reported Throgmorton, "great dissimulation, or much inconsistency." "I do well perceive," he said, "that the divorce among these folks is not so desperate but that the same may be soon enough accorded, and the same little to serve our purpose." He advised

man to rejoice and laugh thereat, said he would keep his laughing till two years were past. If, those two years expired, he saw the thing liked as well as then it was, he would laugh too. What the end thereof was, a great many be alive that can remember." — Mason to Chaloner, October 12: *Spanish MSS.*

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton to Elizabeth, October 23: *Conway MSS.*

Elizabeth to reinforce her garrisons at Havre and Dieppe, that if the Protestant leaders proved to be "other men than they ought to be," "she might be in case to have reason at their hands."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the work at Rouen grew hourly hotter. A German army under D'Andelot was at last on its way to Condé; and Guise was deter- The siege of Rouen. mined to take the place before they could come up. The numbers engaged were no longer so unequal; the garrison, after the entry of the English volunteers, were almost 6000 men, and the besiegers were 10,000 at the most. But Guise had contrived to surprise St. Catherine's Hill, the most commanding of all the defences, and covered by the batteries erected there thinned the numbers of the defenders by a succession of desperate assaults. One fortunate accident occurred to cheer the Protestant party. On the 15th of October Navarre, whom they hated as an apostate, was shot in the trenches through his shoulder. The ball could not be extracted, for he could not endure the pain. When he thought himself better he had his mistress with him in his tent; he was an inveterate sensualist, and the wound inflamed and mortified. He received the last sacraments from a priest, but his physician, a Calvinist in disguise, avenged the Death of the King of Navarre. cause which he had deserted by working on his terrors; and the wretched man died in the anguish of darkness.<sup>2</sup>

The loss of Navarre was a heavy blow to Guise, for Condé succeeded his brother as first prince of the blood. But it came too late to save Rouen: on the 21st the besieged made a successful sally, destroying batteries and carrying off guns; on the 25th a general assault

<sup>1</sup> Conway MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Varillas.

all along the lines was led by Guise in person, which though not immediately successful left few of the defenders in a condition for further resistance, except the English and a handful of Scots. Again with daylight the storming columns came on. Alone and uncommanded — for their leaders were wounded or dead — these few gallant men held their ground till noon, when they were cut down almost to the last man, and the Duke of Guise entered Rouen over their bodies. Killigrew was taken half dead, and eventually recovered; about forty escaped down the river and made their way to Havre; the rest were killed.<sup>1</sup>

November.  
Rouen is  
taken.

The expected atrocities of course followed. A few of the principal citizens were kept alive to be hanged in cold blood as traitors. The town was given up to the indiscriminating ferocity of the Catholic soldiers, who massacred till they were weary.

The Protestants in France were consoled by the death of Navarre. The loss of so many English soldiers, present as they were against her orders, it was feared would exasperate Elizabeth beyond comfort or endurance.

Elizabeth, however, showed invariably to advantage in serious trials. So much afraid were the Council of the effect upon her that Lord Robert was sent to prepare the way. He told her that there had been a terrible assault, and that it was doubted whether the town could hold out. He supposed that the Queen would have blamed the English commander for having allowed his men to go on the service; but she said only that if Poynings had broken his orders he had better have sent a larger force; "his blame would have as

<sup>1</sup> Varillas. — John Young to Cecil, Nov. 2: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

much for five hundred as for a thousand ;” and “she showed a marvellous remorse that she had not dealt more frankly” herself.<sup>1</sup>

The truth, when she knew the worst, confirmed her resolution. She hurried off Warwick to his command, and determined to “stuff Newhaven with men.” Dieppe, being exposed and the inhabitants dangerous, it was relinquished, and the force of the expedition was concentrated. Seven ships and a fast galley were kept at sea to command the Channel, and at the beginning of December 7000 men were within the lines The English at Havre. at Havre. As usual with English expeditions the troops were sent but half-provided, and when they arrived they were ill-clothed and ill-lodged. The winter was cold, and wood and coal were largely wanting. Sickness set in, and Warwick wrote for “two thousand mattresses with speed, or a third of the men would be unfit for service.”<sup>2</sup> Still the Government, eager and confident, clung tenaciously to what they had undertaken.

By this time Condé had received his long-looked for reinforcements. The plague had broken out in Orleans and forced him to the field; and on the 8th December he marched out, accompanied by the Admiral and Throgmorton at the head of 8000 men — a small force after all in numbers, but composed of the best troops in France. Before leaving the city he hanged an abbot and a member of the Parliament of Paris, in return for the massacre at Rouen. He then moved on Pluvieres, which he took in two days, “putting the captains, soldiers, and all such as bare arms,

<sup>1</sup> Lord R. Dudley to Cecil, October 30: *Domestic MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Warwick to Cecil, December 3: Forbes, Vol. II.

to the sword." There D'Andelot joined him with the Germans; and he advanced towards Paris, closely watched at a distance by Guise. Both sides were unwilling to risk a battle. Condé paused at the suburbs, not venturing to enter the city; and Catherine de Medici, supported by Montmorency, made a last effort for peace. Commissioners met on the 1st of December. The terms which the Prince demanded were an "interim" till the close of the Council of Trent; Catholics and Protestants "to live according to their consciences;" a general amnesty; and his own recognition as the prince next to the crown.

All this the Queen-mother was ready to grant. The difficulty was the English alliance and the promise of Calais to Elizabeth. The blood of the volunteers at Rouen gave his allies claims upon him which the generous Condé would not repudiate; but he showed Throgmorton his evident desire that the Queen of England would content herself with having earned the gratitude of the Huguenots, and not "seek to mix particular causes in quarrel for religion." A courier was instantly despatched to London. Elizabeth answered that "the Prince had bound himself by a solemn act under his hand;" if he broke faith with her he should never count upon her help again; and she trusted he would give the world no cause to accuse him of ingratitude. If he would be constant to his engagements she would assist him farther; but she said pointedly that she had sent orders to Warwick to keep Havre against all comers Protestant or Catholic.<sup>1</sup>

In the same despatch — as a fatal weapon to punish

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Throgmorton, December 14: *Conway MSS.*

Condé if he flinched — the secret articles which he had signed in his extremity, binding himself to the restoration of Calais, were enclosed to Throgmorton to be used as occasion might require.<sup>1</sup>

December.  
Elizabeth insists on the restoration of Calais.

The Conference broke up. The Catholics fiercely withdrew their promises of toleration. Condé, true to his faith and false to France, fell back from Paris, closely followed by Guise, the Constable, and St. André, intending to retire to the coast of Normandy, where the English army would take the field with him.

Far wiser as well as nobler it would have been could Elizabeth have forgotten those "particular causes." Her true policy, which the Spaniards dreaded that she might pursue, was to leave Calais to its fate, throw her influence into the scale of moderation, and establish a peace which would paralyze the power of the Guises. She could have done it had she pleased; and then De Quadra said she would have placed herself beyond reach of danger. A government at Paris composed of Catherine de Medici, Montmorency, and Condé, would have joined with Elizabeth in holding down the ambition of the Queen of Scots. The English Catholics would cease to conspire from a sense of the hoplessness of their cause, and the Reformation could establish itself in Europe.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Conway MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> "Soy de opinion que se hará algun concierto pernicioso del qual resulte que la religion in Francia no quede remediado y aqui se pierda del todo; porque como estos Catolicos ven flaqueza en lo de Francia, descaecerán totalmente de la esperanza que tenían de ser favorecidos, y se rindirán á la fuerza; o si tal concierto no se hiciese á lo menos se assegurará esta Reyna de los de Guysa y de la Reyna de Escocia, de manera que se pierda la esperanza que los dichos Catolicos de aqui tienen de ser remediados por aquel medio; lo qual podría ser facilmente que hiciese ligandose y juntan-

It is remarkable that the first serious blunder of Elizabeth's Government was the one measure on which both the great parties in the country were agreed. The blind anxiety of national pride refused to rest till England recovered a town which it would hold only to its own injury, which would and must be a never-ceasing irritation to France, and an open wound. Elizabeth, though not incapable of a more generous policy, preferred an object which seemed practicable, direct and tangible; and her shrewdness for once overreached itself. The Spanish Government with adroit insight changed their tone as they saw her strike into the false road. They knew, what she refused to see, that neither Condé nor Châtillon would surrender permanently to England an acre of French soil; and as they saw Elizabeth commit herself they withdrew their menaces, and encouraged her warmly "to secure a pawn for the recovery of Calais." "I have to do with curious men," wrote Chaloner from Madrid; "so as we make not religion the cause of our stir they seem well contented."<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Alva complimented Elizabeth's ambassador on the skill with which the English had chosen their opportunity; and assuring him that Philip was sincerely anxious for the success of the enterprise at Havre, expressed a fear only that it might fail for want of strength to carry it out.<sup>2</sup>

To prevent Condé from joining Warwick, Guise de-

dose el Rey de Francia con esta Reyna contra la de Escocia, caso que aquella se casase con algun principe que les de sospecha á entrambos; porque como otras veces tengo dicho en este articulo, son muy concordés y conformes la Reyna de Francia y esta, y ahora anda esta sospecha mas que nunca." — De Quadra to Philip, November: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>1</sup> Chaloner to Cecil, November 21: *Spanish MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> Alva's conversation with Chaloner throws some light on the strength of England in the sixteenth century — "If the French quarrel was made up," the Duke said, "England might perhaps feel what the power of

terminated to force a battle, and clung to his rear, watching for some opportunity when the magnificent cavalry of the Admiral would have least room to act. On the 18th of December the armies were but a few miles apart, near Dreux. The Eure divided them, and the rough woody country on the banks of the river was almost what the Catholics desired. A narrow strip of open ground lay in front of Condé's position, but closed in as it was all round with scrub and brushwood, Guise supposed that he had found what he wanted; and to prevent the Protestants from renewing their retreat he crossed the river on the night of the 18th, occupied a small village in the line by which Condé would have to pass, and prepared to attack him at daybreak. Two hours before dawn he heard mass and took the sacrament; with the first streaks of light he had his men strongly posted among copsewood and hedges, with the river in his rear.

Had it been possible Condé would have declined the engagement. He was outnumbered; three fourths of his infantry were Germans, and he did not trust them; but except through Guise's lines there was no escape. The action opened with artillery. The Ger-  
Dec. 19.  
The Battle  
of Dreux.  
 mans, as the Prince had foreseen, were instantly thrown into confusion; and Montmorency, who commanded the Catholic centre, believing that a

France did import; I confess your men are hardy and want not courage, but in discipline and furniture of war they are far to seek."

"Which objection of the Duke," says Chaloner, "I thought not meet at that present to leave wholly unreplied to; I told him that the state of things was lately so redubbed, as he should have cause to be of another opinion. *In number of apt bodies to make soldiers, I think you will confess, I said, that we be on as fair footing as France, or rather before them, accounting but their own race.* As for the power of France, I wist not what more account we should now make of their force, divided and ruled by a child, then proof sheweth we made of them aforetime."—Chaloner to Cecil, Decem-  
 ber: *Spanish MSS.*

LIBRARY OF  
 EWING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,  
 ALLAHABAD.



single charge would end the battle, dashed forward into the open ground where neither Guise nor St. André on the right and left wing could support him. Drawn up in reserve, with four thousand horse from the old army of Italy, Châtillon saw his enemy throw himself into the single spot where a horse could gallop. Down came the Protestant cavalry with levelled lances; the Catholics, out of breath with running, could not form to receive them, and through and through their broken ranks Châtillon rode. The Constable fell, shot through the cheek, and was borne off a prisoner; the Duc d'Aumale was mortally wounded; eight cannon were carried off in triumph, and the whole centre was dashed into ruins.

If the rest of the army had behaved tolerably a victory was within Condé's grasp which would have ruined Guise's fame and ended the war. The Duke, however, with St. André, drew together upon the ground which Montmorency had left vacant. The Germans, advancing in disorder, and finding themselves opposed by an unbroken force, turned back without a shot, or a blow. In vain D'Anelot laboured to rally them. They threw away their arms and allowed themselves to be chased from the field.

The fight was renewed by the reserve; but the Calvinist infantry were far overmatched. Condé, fighting desperately, was borne to the ground; his horse was killed under him and he was taken; while the Catholic horse, composed chiefly of the French nobles and their retainers, took courage and engaged Châtillon. With these, however, wanting as they did all qualities of soldiers except courage, the Admiral's trained troopers made rapid work; and then turned on Guise in time to rescue the few companies of foot who were strug-

gling against overwhelming numbers. Thrice Châtillon charged upon the solid squares. The third time St. André was made prisoner, and killed by accident as he was borne away over a horseman's saddle-bow. The squadrons were forming for a final effort to rescue Condé when their pikes were found bent and twisted, their swords broken, their pistols clogged and useless, from the hard service of that desperate day. The short winter's afternoon was closing; and sullenly and slowly the Admiral gave the order to withdraw.

The loss on both sides was about equal. Out of thirty thousand who had been engaged eight thousand lay dead upon the field. Of the Catholic Triumvirate Guise only remained. The Constable was a prisoner and St. André dead; the young counts and gentlemen who had formed the Catholic cavalry were killed or taken. On the other hand the Prince of Condé was a prisoner also. The Germans had been broken into a rabble; and of the whole Calvinist army the horse only held together in effective force — capable perhaps, if they had hurled themselves once more on Guise's thinned and wearied masses, of crushing them in pieces, but unable any longer to keep the field as an army. The Admiral pursued his way unmolested towards Havre; D'Andelot conducted Montmorency into Orleans; the Duke of Guise was left in possession of the field of battle; and Throgmorton, who was parted from his friends during the action, was, two days later, brought into the Catholic camp.

So ended the battle of Dreux, remarkable for the carnage which, considering the numbers engaged, was beyond example; and for the capture on either side of the chief leaders of the opposing factions. After a drawn battle, in the already lukewarm hum-  
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Condé, the war was likely to assume a new phase unfavourable to the hopes of England.

It is time to return to the Queen of Scots. After the failure of the interview, her uncles, by whose advice she had been labouring hitherto to disarm suspicion, recommended her to throw off the mask and fall back upon the Catholics. She had gained little by conciliation: their own successes at the end of the summer promised again to give them the disposal of the force of France; and while Maitland still affected to be blind and kept his eye fixed on the English succession, Lord James, a less able but a truer and far nobler man, saw that his confidence in his sister perhaps had been mistaken, and that Knox had been more right than himself.

Of all the reactionary noblemen in Scotland the most powerful and dangerous was notoriously the Earl of Huntly. It was Huntly who had proposed the landing at Aberdeen; it was Huntly who had sworn that if the Queen would but speak the word the mass should be "set up again." In his own house the chief of the house of Gordon had never so much as affected to comply with the change of religion; and to him and his policy the Duke of Guise now advised Mary to incline.

A number of causes combined at this moment to draw attention to Huntly. He had refused to part with the lands of Murray which had been given to Lord James. One of his sons, Lord John Gordon, commonly called Laird of Finlatter, who had been imprisoned for murder, had escaped to the north, and was supported by his father in setting the law at defiance;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord John Gordon's history throws singular light on the inner life of the Scotch nobility. Randolph writes to Cecil — "Touching the

and uneasy about Mary's intentions, and fearing what Huntly might do next if he was left unpunished, Lord James — or to call him henceforth by the name under which he is so well known, the Earl of Murray<sup>1</sup> — resolved to anticipate attack, to carry the Queen with him to visit the recusant lord in his own stronghold, and either to drive him into a premature rebellion or force him to submit to the existing government.

August.  
The Earl of Murray determines to punish the Earl of Huntly.

Murray's reasons for such a step are intelligible. It is less easy to understand why Mary Stuart consented to it. "Whether," says Knox, "there was an agreement between the Papists of the north and the Papists of the south, or, to speak more plainly, between Huntly

Finlatter, there is here a strange story. If your honour call it to remembrance, there was one Finlatter, Master of the Household to the Queen-mother, that had commission many times to confer with your honour and the rest of the Commissioners at your being at Edinburgh. This Finlatter was disinherited by his father, and his land given to John Gordon, second son to the Earl of Huntly. Two principal causes there were that moved Finlatter's father thus to do: the one that he solicited his father's wife being his mother-in-law to dishonesty, not only with himself but with another man; the other, which is marvellous strange, that he took purpose with certain as well-conditioned as himself, to take his father and put him into a dark house, and there to keep him waking until such time as he became stark mad; and that being done, thought to enter himself in possession of the house and lands. This being revealed, and sure token given unto his father that this was true, he having no other issue, by persuasion of his wife, who was a Gordon, gave the whole land unto John Gordon, who after the death of the said Finlatter married her and so had right unto the whole living. To see how God hath plagued the iniquity of this same woman — in one month after his marriage John Gordon casteth his fantasy unto another, and because that he would not depart from the land which was hers for her lifetime, he locketh her up in a close chamber where she yet remaineth; and for the deliverance of her and for the unjust dealing of John Gordon towards her much controversy is risen in this country, and are of the chief causes why he enterprised such things as he hath done, thinking he shall be forced to put her to liberty and forego the land as long as she liveth." — *September 30, 1562: Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>1</sup> The earldom was his, although he had not yet assumed the title. At this time he was styled Earl of Mar, but his repeated change of name creates confusion.

and the Queen, was not known; but suspicion was wondrous vehement that no good will was borne to the Earl of Murray." Huntly's family, in explanation of the events which followed, affirmed that "the trouble which happened to the Gordons" was "for the sincere and loyal affection which they had to the Queen's preservation;" and that throughout there was a secret understanding between the Queen and the Earl. It may be that Mary Stuart was prepared for either contingency. She was going with but a moderate escort to that Aberdeen to which she had been before invited. If the Catholic noblemen were as powerful as they pretended they could destroy her brother and set her at liberty from the thralldom in which she had been held. If Huntly had overrated his strength she would gain a step in the confidence of Elizabeth, and allay the rising suspicions of Murray and his friends. Divided between her zeal for orthodoxy and her hope of the English succession, she might account either conclusion as an advantage gained, and it was essential for her to test the relative powers of the different parties among her subjects.

The expedition itself she thoroughly enjoyed. The northern autumn was wet and cold; but Mary Stuart was as much at her ease galloping a half-broken stallion over the heather as when languishing in her boudoir over a love-sonnet; to Randolph, who accompanied the party, she said she wished she was a man, "to know what life it was to lie all night in the field or to walk on the cawsey with a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword;" and the glittering cavalcade swept gaily through the country, knight and yeoman, lord and dame, in all three thousand horse.

On the 31st of August they reached Aberdeen,

Expedition  
of Mary  
Stuart to  
the North.

where an invitation met them from Huntly to visit his house at Strathbogie. "It was the fairest and best in all the country;" and the Earl had made large provision for the Queen's reception; but the reply was a demand only for the surrender of his fugitive son; and when Lord John Gordon did not appear, the Queen willingly or unwillingly passed on through the heart of the Huntly clan to Inverness. The Earl of Sutherland — another Gordon — who was in the royal train, was secretly in league with his kinsman; and Lord John hung on the skirts of the march, watching an opportunity to carry Mary off; but the chance did not present itself.

Having the disposition of the authority of the sovereign Murray's object was to make his power felt. On reaching Inverness he required the castle gates to be opened. The Gordon in command, more loyal to Huntly than to the Queen, refused to admit her, and though the Earl made haste to apologize, and sent orders the next day to place the castle and all in it at her disposal, the captain was hanged over the battlements.

Having strangled a wolf cub thus in the heart of the den, Murray had accomplished one part of his purpose; and not caring to remain longer <sup>September.</sup> where the horses and perhaps their riders also would soon have starved, he turned back upon his steps. The Earl of Huntly, finding that if he meant to do anything he must do it promptly and by force, made an effort to intercept him. A thousand Gordons lay in a wood on the banks of the Spey the night before the Queen passed. But their hearts failed them, and they scattered before she appeared. On the 24th of September she was again at Aberdeen. The time of reck-

oning was now come for the Earl himself. Murray was resolved not to leave the country till he had brought him on his knees, and though Huntly still affected loyalty and "laid the fault on his son," yet as his son was known to be with him either in Strathbogie or the neighbourhood he was informed that the Court would remain at all risks in Aberdeen till Lord John was taken or had surrendered.

In the quadrangle of Huntly's house stood a single cannon—an awful emblem of power and sovereignty. It had been dismounted and concealed in a cellar. Murray sent for it; and the Earl, "with very humble words and tears and sobs," promised that it should be given up. Lady Huntly—reported by the Protestants to be a witch—"led the messenger into the chapel of the house," furnished with crucifix, candle, and altar. "Good friend," she said to him, "you see here the envy that is borne unto my husband: would he have forsaken God and his religion as those that are now about the Queen, my husband would never have been put at as he now is. God and he that is upon this altar will preserve us and let our true hearts be known. Tell your mistress my husband was ever obedient to her and will die her faithful subject."<sup>1</sup>

A fortnight passed. The house where the Court lodged was one night almost burnt over their heads by the Gordons. Young Kirkaldy of Grange, on the 9th of October, made a dash on Strathbogie, and would have made the Earl prisoner had he not "scrambled over a low wall without boot or sword," and escaped by the speed of his horse. Lord John, in revenge, destroyed an outlying party of the Queen's guard; Huntly himself was reported to have retired to Badenoch,

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, September 30: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

"where neither men nor guns could be taken in the winter;" while from the south came news that Bothwell had escaped out of Edinburgh Castle; not it was supposed without the Queen's knowledge. Lord Gordon, Huntly's eldest son and Chatelherault's son-in-law, was reported to be working on the irritation of the Hamiltons at Arran's imprisonment; and the Duke and his whole house were expected to rise in insurrection.

There was matter in this news for grave anxiety; and, had Huntly remained in the Highlands, Murray might have found the work which he had taken in hand too hard for him. But fortune stood his friend. Misled by a false report that the Queen's escort had been tampered with, the Earl came down again from the mountains. Information was brought into Aberdeen that he was but a few miles off with not more than seven hundred men about him. Swift as lightning Murray, Morton, and Grange were on his track. He was surrounded in a bog called Corriche Burn, from which there was no escape; and after a sharp skirmish, in which two hundred of his followers were killed, he was taken with his two sons, Lord John and Lord Adam.

October.  
Battle of  
Corriche  
Burn, and  
death of  
Huntly.

His own fate was a strange one. "The Earl, without blow or stroke, being set on horseback before him that was his taker, suddenly fell from his horse stark dead without word that ever he spoke."<sup>1</sup> Adam Gordon, being then but a boy of seventeen, was dismissed to be the scourge in manhood of the northern Protestants. Lord John, after a full confession, was beheaded in the market-place at Aberdeen. "The Queen took

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, October 28 and November 2: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.



no pleasure in the victory and gloomed at the messenger who told of it." Her brother read her a cruel lesson by compelling her to be present at the execution; while Maitland for once "remembered that there was a God in heaven," and made a speech on the ways of Providence.<sup>1</sup>

Mary Stuart might have preferred a different result. She made haste to turn to her advantage Murray's triumph. Elizabeth, the day before she was taken ill, had written to her a remarkable letter—not, like so many others, prepared by Cecil and signed by herself, but an original composition altogether peculiar and characteristic. Though the style was confused the tone was noble. The object was to explain the interference in France and to deprecate Mary's resentment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knox.

<sup>2</sup> "MY OWN DEAR SISTER,—Were it not a thing impossible for us to forget our own hearts, I should fear you might think that I had drunk the waters of Lethe; but there is, I assure you, no such river in England; and of the fault, if fault there be, you are yourself the chief cause; for if your messenger who you told me long ago was coming had not delayed so long, I should have written to you as usual; but when I heard that you were going so long a pilgrimage and so far from the English border, I thought that this had perhaps hindered you; while on my part I was kept silent by another motive—I feared to distress you with the tale of the tragedies with which each week my own ears were grieved. Would to God they had been as unknown to others as they were passed over in silence by me; and I promise you on my honour that till the ravens cried out upon me I would have stopped my ears with oblivion. But when I saw that all my advisers and my subjects considered me too blind—too dull—too improvident—I roused myself from that slumber. I thought I was unworthy to rule such a realm as this which I possess, did not make Prometheus as familiar with my councils as I had long made Epimetheus. And when I remembered that it touched your interests also—my God, how did it gnaw my heart! not for myself, you know it well, but for her to whom I wish all the good that can be devised, fearing lest you should think that the old sparks are kindled into new flame.

"Notwithstanding when I saw that necessity has no law and that we must guard our own homes when those of our neighbours are on fire, I had no such suspicion of you as that you would refuse to take off the veil of nature and regard the naked cause of reason.

\*Far sooner would I pass over those murders on land; far rather would

One defect, however, there was in this letter: it contained no word upon the subject nearest to the heart of the Queen of Scots, while rumours reached her of the discussions of the Council on the succession when Elizabeth was supposed to be dying, in which her name and claim had been passed by almost in silence.

Maitland, therefore, was at once set to work. He

I leave unwritten those noyades in the rivers — those men and women hacked in pieces; but the shrieks of the strangled wives, great with child — the cries of the infants at their mothers' breasts — pierce me through. What drug of rhubarb can purge the bile which these tyrannies engender? My own subjects in many places have lost goods, ships, and life, and have been baptized with another name than their sponsors gave them at their baptism — a name till late unknown to me, now too familiar — too often heard — the name of Huguenots. The blame of this treatment has been cast on the poor soldiers, but the fault rests with the wicked leaders of the quarrel, who when complaint is made to them, instead of correcting *one* ill deed commit twenty.

"I received letters from the King and Queen — letters which they cannot deny — from which I learn clearly that the King is but King in name, and that others have the power. And seeing this I have set myself to prevent the evils which might follow if the quarry of this realm was in their talons. But I shall so rule my actions that the King shall hold me a good neighbour, who rather protects than destroys. Your kinsmen shall have no cause to deem me vindictive. I shall do them no hurt unless they commence with me. You shall have no ground to charge me with deceit. I have even accomplished more than I have promised wherever it has been possible; and I promise you it shall not stand with me, but there shall be soon a sound peace between all who will be ruled by reason. I send my fleet, and I send my army, but with no thought except to do good to the King and to all, unless they will first injure me; and that the world may know the desire I have for peace, and remove all suspicions which may be engendered of me, I make this declaration without any reserve whatever. I trust therefore you will think as honourably of me as my good will towards you deserves; and though I am not ignorant what arts will be or have been used with you in this respect to induce you to withdraw from the affection which I am assured you bear me; I nevertheless have such trust in this heart which I hold so precious,\* that I think the rivers will sooner run upwards to the mountains than it shall change towards me. The fever under which I am suffering forbids me to write further." — Queen Elizabeth to the Queen of Scots, October, 15: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*. Translated from the French Original.

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\* The Queen of Scots had sent Elizabeth a heart set with diamonds.

wrote to Cecil to say that although Huntly's rebellion had been crushed, his mistress was in "perplexed case." With reason or without reason England was at war with France; and France, which at all times had befriended Scottish liberty — France, whose alliance Scotland could not afford to lose — was calling on her for assistance. The Queen of Scots herself had an interest in her dowry which she would forfeit by refusal, while from England it appeared that she was to receive nothing but Elizabeth's regard, which did not go "beyond her person." Had Elizabeth died in her last illness, the Queen of Scots would have sacrificed the friendship of France and have gained nothing in exchange. Could she but have confidence that "quarrels should never rise between herself and any person in that realm," she would value the English alliance "more than all the uncles in the world:" but the only security which could give her that confidence was the recognition of her title; and "it was whispered in the late storm" that the English Council intended to prefer another candidate. Maitland for his part said he could ill believe it, "seeing none was so worthy or had so good a title." The union of the realms was of priceless moment: and "if religion moved anything," the late appearance of his mistress in arms against the leader of the Papists ought to disarm suspicion.<sup>1</sup>

A fortnight later Randolph said that Scotland was full of rumours traced to the authority of the Clerk of the English Council, that "during the late discussion one voice only had been raised for the Queen of Scots, and that in the Parliament about to be held she would

<sup>1</sup> Maitland to Cecil, November 14: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

be debarred from the succession."<sup>1</sup> Unable to endure the suspense longer, Mary Stuart at last despatched Maitland to press her claims openly on Elizabeth; "to demand access to the Parliament House" and declare her title before the Estates of the Realm; and if the Lords and Commons refused to entertain it, to tell them plainly that she would seek her remedy elsewhere."<sup>2</sup>

Mary Stuart  
demands her  
recognition  
as heir pre-  
sumptive to  
Elizabeth.

So wrote Mary grasping fiercely at the prize which she trusted to have purchased by Huntly's blood; while Randolph informed Cecil that the distrust of Knox was still as fixed as ever. "He had no hope that she would ever come to God, or do good in the Commonwealth; he was so full of mistrust in all her doings, words, and sayings, as though he were either of God's privy council, that knew how he had determined of her from the beginning, or knew the secrets of her heart so well that he was assured she neither did or would have forever one good thought of God or of his true religion."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, November 28: *Cotton MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> "You shall in our name and in our behalf publicly and solemnly protest that we are thereby injured and offended, and [must seek] such remedy as the law and consuetude has provided for them that are enormously and excessively hurt." — Instructions given by the Queen of Scots to Maitland: Keith, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Randolph to Cecil, December 16: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

## CHAPTER VI.

IN the face of enormous difficulties Elizabeth and her ministers had restored England to its rank in Europe. They had baffled Spain, wrested Scotland from the Guises, and played with accomplished dexterity on the rivalries and jealousies of the Romanist powers. By skill and good fortune they had brought the Catholics at home to an almost desperate submission; and now, with the country armed to the teeth, they were subsidizing a Protestant rebellion in France, and fastening themselves once more upon the French soil.

The expenses of so aggressive and dangerous a policy had been great, yet Elizabeth's talent for economy had saved her from deep involvements; and while courtiers whined over her parsimony, the burden of public debt bequeathed by Mary had received no increase, and was even somewhat diminished. The wounds were still green which twenty years of religious and social confusion had inflicted on the commonwealth; but here too there were visible symptoms of amendment: above all, the poisonous gangrene of the currency, the shame and scandal of the late reigns, had been completely healed.

No measure in Elizabeth's reign has received more deserved praise than the reformation of the coinage. The applause indeed has at times overpassed her merit; for some historians have represented it as accomplished at the cost of the crown; whereas the expense, even

to the calling in and recoinng the base money, was borne to the last penny by the country. "Elizabeth and her advisers deserve the credit only of having looked in the face; and of having found the means of dealing with, a complicated and most difficult problem.

When the ministers of Edward the Sixth arrived at last at the conviction that the value of a shilling depended on the amount of pure silver Reform of the English currency. contained in it, and that the base money therefore with which the country had been flooded must be called down to its natural level, the people, it was roughly calculated, had lost something over a million pounds. An accurate computation, however, was impossible, for the issues of the Government, large as they were, had been exceeded by those of private coining establishments in England and abroad, where the pure coin left in circulation was melted down and debased.

The evil had been rather increased than diminished by the first efforts at reformation. The current money was called down to an approach to its value in bullion, and it was then left in circulation under the impression that it would no longer be pernicious; but the pure shillings of Edward's last years could not live beside the bad, and still continued either to leave the country or to be made away with by the coiners. The good resolutions of further reform with which Mary commenced her reign disappeared as she became straitened for money; the doctrinal virtues superseded the moral; and relapsing upon her father's and her brother's evil precedents, she poured out a fresh shower of money containing but three ounces of silver with nine of alloy, and attempted to force it once more on the people at its nominal value.

The coining system acquired at once fresh impetus,

and Elizabeth, on coming to the throne, found prices everywhere in confusion. Amidst the variety of standards and the multitude of coins recognized by the law, the common business of life was almost at a stand-still. Of current silver there was such as remained of Edward's pure shillings, containing eleven ounces and two pennyweights of silver in the pound; the shillings of the first year of Mary, containing ten ounces; and the old shillings of Henry the Eighth, containing eleven ounces.

Of testers or sixpences, the coin in common use, there were four sorts: the tester of eight ounces of silver in the pound, the tester of six, the tester of four, and the tester of three; with groats, rose pence, and other small coins, of which the purity varied in the same proportion. The testers of eight, six, and four ounces had been issued originally as shillings; and had been called down to sixpences. These three kinds were all of equal value, "for that which lacked in fineness exceeded in weight,"<sup>1</sup> and they were really worth fourpence halfpenny. The fourth kind, the tester of three ounces, was worth only twopence halfpenny; but "the worst passed current with the best" in the payment of the statute wages of the artisan or labourer. The working man was robbed without knowing how or why, while the tradesmen and farmers, aware that a sixpence was not a sixpence, defied the feeble laws which attempted to regulate the prices of produce, charged for their goods on a random scale, and secured themselves against loss by the breadth of margin which they claimed against the consumer.

The earliest extant paper on the subject in the reign

<sup>1</sup> Paper on the Coinage; endorsed in Cecil's hand, Mr. Stanley's opinion: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XIII.

of Elizabeth is the composition of the Queen herself. With the rise in prices the landowners generally had doubled their rents, while the rents of the Crown lands had remained unchanged. The ounce of silver in the currency of the Plantagenets, instead of being coined into the five shillings of later usage, had been divided only into a quarter of a mark, or three shillings and four pence. Elizabeth proposed to return to the earlier scale, and retaining the same nominal rent of which she found herself in receipt, to allow "the tenants of improved rents to answer their lords after the rate of the abatement of value for every pound a mark;"<sup>1</sup> while all outstanding debts or contracts might be graduated in the same proportion.

The objections to this project, it is easy to see, would have been infinite. It fell through — was heard of no more. But in their first moments of serious leisure, immediately after the Scotch war, in September 1560, the Council determined at all hazards to call in the entire currency, and supply its place with new coin of a pure and uniform standard. Prices of all kinds could then adjust themselves without further confusion.

The first necessity was to ascertain the proportions of good and bad money which was in circulation. A public inquiry could not be ventured for fear of creating a panic, and the following rudely ingenious method was suggested as likely to give an approximation to the truth. "Some witty person was to go among the butchers of London, and to them rather than to any other, because they retailed of their flesh to all manner of persons in effect — so that thereby of great likelihood

<sup>1</sup> "Wherein," she said, "the lord shall not be much hindered, being able to perform almost every way as much with the mark as he was with the pound." — (Opinion of her Majesty for reducing the state of the coin, 1559): *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz.



came to their hands of all sorts of money of base coin : and to go to a good many of them — thirty-six at least — and after this manner, because they should not understand the meaning thereof, nor have no suspicion in that behalf — requiring all of them to put all the money that they should receive the next forenoon by itself, and likewise that in the afternoon by itself, and they should have other money for the same ; promising every one of them a quart of wine for their labours, because that there was a good wager laid whether they received more money in the afternoon — whereof nine score pounds being received of the butchers, after the manner aforesaid, being all put together, then all the shillings of three ounces fine and under, but not above, should be tried and called out — as well counterfeits after the same stamp and standard as others ; and after the rest of the money might be perused and compared one with another.”<sup>1</sup>

Either by this or some other plan, the worst coin in circulation was found to be about a fourth of the whole, while the entire mass of base money of all standards was guessed roughly at 1,200,000*l.* How to deal with it was the next question. Sir Thomas Stanley offered several schemes to the choice of the Government.

1. The testers, worse and better together, might be called down from sixpence to fourpence ; a period might be fixed within which they must be brought to the Mint, and paid for at that price. The 1,200,000*l.* would be bought in for 800,000*l.* ; the bullion which it contained, being recoined and reissued at eleven ounces fine, would be worth 837,500*l.* ; and the balance of 37,500*l.* in favour of the Government, to-

<sup>1</sup> “A manner to make a proof how many sorts of standards are current commonly within this realm.” — *Lansdowne MSS.* 4.

gether with the value of the alloy, would more than cover the expenses of the process. If the Queen wished to make a better thing of it, the worst money might be sent to Ireland, as the general dirt heap for the outcasting of England's vileness.

2. The bad coin might be called in simply and paid for at the Mint according to its bullion value, a percentage being allowed for the refining.

3. If the Queen would run the risk she might relieve her subjects more completely by giving the full value of fourpence halfpenny for the sixpence, three halfpence for the half groat, and so on through the whole coinage, allowing three quarters of the nominal value, and taking her chance — still with the help of Ireland — of escaping unharmed.<sup>1</sup>

Swiftmess of action, resolution, and a sufficient number of men of probity to receive and pay for the moneys all over the country were the great requisites.<sup>2</sup> The people were expected to submit to the further loss without complaint if they could purchase with it a certain return to security and order. Neither of Stanley's alternatives were accepted literally. The standard for Ireland had always been something under that of England. But the Queen would not consent to inflict more suffering on that country than she could conveniently help. The Irish coin should share in the common restoration, and be brought back to its normal proportions.

On the 27th of September the evils of an uneven and vitiated currency were explained by proclamation. The people were told that the Queen would bear the cost of refining and recoinng the public moneys if

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stanley's opinion: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XIII. *Rolls House*

<sup>2</sup> Bacon to Cecil, October 14, 1560: *MS. Ibid.*, Vol. XIV.

they on their side would bear cheerfully their share of the loss; and they were invited to bring in and pay over to persons appointed to receive it in every market-town the impure silver in their hands. For the three better sorts of tester the Crown would pay the full value of fourpence halfpenny, and for the half groats and pence in proportion. For the fourth and most debased kind, which was easily distinguishable, it would pay twopence farthing.

To stimulate the collection a bounty of threepence was promised on every pound's worth of silver brought in. Refiners were sent for from Germany; the Mint at the Tower was set to work under Stanley and Sir Thomas Fleetwood; and in nine months the impure stream was washed clean, and a silver coinage of the present standard was circulating once more throughout the realm.

Either a large fraction of the base money was not brought in, or the estimate of the quantity in circulation had been exaggerated. The entire weight collected was 631,950 lbs.; 638,000*l.* (in money) was paid for it by the receivers of the Mint, and it yielded when melted down 244,416 lbs. of silver, worth in the new coinage of eleven ounces fine 733,248*l.* So far, therefore, there was a balance in favour of the Crown of 95,135*l.*; but the cost of collection, the premiums, and other collateral losses reduced the margin to 49,776*l.* 9*s.* 3*d.* Thirty-five thousand six hundred and eighty-six pounds, fifteen shillings, and sixpence (35,686*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*) was paid for the refining and re-minting; and when the whole transaction was completed Elizabeth was left with a balance in her favour of

The base money is called in and re-coined.

The cost of the process.

fourteen thousand and seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and ninepence, (14,079*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*)<sup>1</sup>

Thus was this great matter ended, not, as it has been represented, by means of two hundred thousand crowns raised by Gresham in Flanders. The two hundred thousand crowns indisputably were raised there, but it was to buy saltpetre, and corselets, and harquebusses; and the reform of the coin cost nothing beyond the thought expended on it.

But the country was sick of other disorders less easy to heal. The silent change in the relations of rich and poor, the eviction of small tenants, the erection of a new race of men on the ruins of the abbeys, whose eyes were more on earth than heaven, the universal restlessness of mind, and the uprooting of old thought on all subjects divine or human, had confused the ancient social constitution of the English nation. Customs and opinions had vanished, and laws based upon them had become useless or mischievous. The underroll of the peasant insurrection was still perceptible in the weakness of the Government and the anarchy of the country population.

The petty copyholders, dispossessed of their tenures, had contracted vagrant habits; the roads were patrolled by highwaymen who took purses in broad daylight in the streets of London itself; and against these symptoms was contending the reactionary old English spirit which had gathered strength under Mary, the single good result of her reign. Grass lands were again browning under tillage, farm-houses were rebuilt, and

<sup>1</sup> "Charges of refining the base money received into the Mint since Michaelmas 1560 until Michaelmas 1561, and of the charges of the workmanship on coining to fine money thereof made; with a note of the provisions and other charges incident to the same, the waste of melting and blemishing being borne." — *Lansdowne MSS.* 4.

the small yeomen fostered into life again; but a vague unrest prevailed everywhere. Elizabeth's prospects during her first years were so precarious that no one felt confident for the future; and the energy of the country hung distracted, with no clear perception what to do or in what direction to turn.

The problem for statesmen was to discern among the new tendencies of the nation how much was sound and healthy, how much must be taken up into the constitution of the state before the disturbed elements settled into form again.

A revolution had passed over England of which the religious change was only a single feature. New avenues of thought were opening on all sides with the growth of knowledge; and as the discoveries of Columbus and Copernicus made their way into men's minds, they found themselves, not in any metaphor but in plain and literal prose, in a new heaven and a new earth. How to send the fresh blood permeating healthily through the veins, how to prevent it from wasting itself in anarchy and revolution — these were the large questions which Elizabeth's ministers had to solve.

In this as in all else Cecil was the presiding spirit.

Character of Cecil. Everywhere among the State papers of these years Cecil's pen is ever visible, Cecil's mind predominant. In the records of the daily meetings of the Council Cecil's is the single name which is never missed. In the Queen's cabinet or in his own, sketching Acts of Parliament, drawing instructions for ambassadors, or weighing on paper the opposing arguments at every crisis of political action; corresponding with archbishops on liturgies and articles, with secret agents in every corner of Europe, or with foreign ministers in every court, Cecil is to be found ever restlessly busy;

and sheets of paper densely covered with brief memoranda remain among his manuscripts to show the vastness of his daily labour and the surface over which he extended his control. From the great duel with Rome to the terraces and orange-groves at Burleigh nothing was too large for his intellect to grasp, nothing too small for his attention to condescend to consider.

In July 1561, under Cecil's direction, letters went round the southern and western counties desiring the magistrates to send in reports on the working of the laws which affected the daily life of the people, on the wages statutes, the acts of apparel, the poor laws, the tillage and pasture laws, the act for "the maintenance of archery," and generally on the condition of the population. A certain Mr. Tyldsley was commissioned privately to follow the circulars and observe how far the magistrates either reported the truth or were doing their duty; and though the reports are lost Tyldsley's letters remain, with his opinion on the character of the English gentry.

If that opinion was correct the change of creed had not improved them. The people were no longer trained in the use of arms because the gentlemen refused to set the example. "For tillage it were plain sacrilege to interfere with it, the offenders being all gentlemen of the richer sort;" while "the alehouses"—"the very stock and stay of false thieves and vagabonds," were supported by them for the worst of motives. The peers had the privilege of importing wine free of duty for the consumption of their households. By their patents they were able to extend the right to others under shelter of their name; and the tavern-keepers "were my lord's servants, or my master's servants; yea, and had such kind of licences, and licence out of

licence to them and their deputies and assignees, that it was some danger to meddle with them.”<sup>1</sup> The very threat of interference either with that or any other misdemeanour in high places caused Cecil to be generally detested.<sup>2</sup> Go where he would, Tyldsley said, “he could find no man earnestly bent to put laws in execution;” “every man let slip and pass forth:” so that “for his part he did look for nothing less than the subversion of the realm, to which end all things were working.”

Equally unsatisfactory were the reports of the state of religion. The constitution of the Church offended the Puritans; the Catholics were as yet unreconciled to the forms which had been maintained to conciliate them; and to the seeming cor-

Religion,  
morality,  
and the Eng-  
lish clergy.

<sup>1</sup> The intention of the exemption had been the encouragement of “hospitality” in the great country houses. Times were changing, and the old-fashioned “open house” was no longer the rule. Without abolishing the privilege the council restricted the quantity which each nobleman was allowed to import. Dukes and archbishops were allowed ten pipes annually; marquises nine pipes; earls, viscounts, barons, and bishops, six, seven, and eight. — *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XX.

<sup>2</sup> “This be you most sure of that as much evil as can be invented by the devilish wit of them that be nought is spoken against you.

“It is not yet four days past since one of my men said unto me, ‘Sir, would to God ye would not meddle so much as ye do, nor be so earnest;’ for, said he, ‘if ye heard so much as I do hear, ye would marvel. For even they that do speak you most fairest to your face do name you behind your back to be an extreme and cruel man, with a great deal more than shall need to rehearse; and they say,’ said he, ‘that all these doings is long of Mr. Secretary Cecil. I do know,’ said he, ‘all this to be truth, for I do hear it amongst their servants, and belike they have heard it of their masters at one time or another. And further,’ said he, ‘when I was last in London, there was a business in hand as touching what wages watermen should take going from one place to another, which thing was much cried out upon and they say that Mr. Cecil was all the doer of that matter too. Surely,’ said he, ‘he is not beloved; and therefore for God’s sake sir be you ware. I have not spoken any of this to the intent that I would have you either to leave off or to slack any part of all your godly doings, but rather if I could to sharp you further against the devil and all his wicked instruments.’” — Mr. Tyldsley’s Report, September 3, 1561: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XIX.

diality with which the Liturgy was at first received, a dead inertia soon succeeded in which nothing lived but self-interest. The bishops and the higher clergy were the first to set an example of evil. The friends of the Church of England must acknowledge with sorrow that within two years of its establishment the prelates were alienating the estates in which they possessed but a life-interest—granting long leases and taking fines for their own advantage. The Council had to inflict upon them the disgrace of a rebuke for neglecting the duties of common probity.<sup>1</sup>

The marriage of the clergy was a point on which the people were peculiarly sensitive.<sup>2</sup> Though tolerated it was generally disapproved, and disapproved especially in members of cathedrals and collegiate bodies who occupied the houses and retained the form of the religious orders. While therefore canons and prebends were entitled to take wives if they could not do without them, they would have done better had they taken chary advantage of their liberty. To the Anglo-Catholic as well as the Romanist a married priest was a scandal, and a married cathedral dignitary an abomination.

“For the avoiding of such offences as were daily conceived by the presence of families, of wives and children within colleges, contrary to the ancient and comely order of the same,” Elizabeth in 1560 forbade deans and canons to have their wives residing with them within the cathedral closes, under pain of forfeiting “their promotions.” Cathedrals and colleges, she

<sup>1</sup> Articles for the Bishops' obligations, 1560: *Domestic MSS.*, Elizabeth

<sup>2</sup> The frequent surnames of Clark, Parsons, Deacon, Archdeacon, Dean, Prior, Abbot, Bishop, Frere, and Monk, are memorials of the stigma affixed by English prejudice on the children of the first married representatives of the sacred orders.



said, had been founded "to keep societies of learned men professing study and prayer;" and the rooms intended for students were not to be sacrificed to women and children.<sup>1</sup>

The Church dignitaries treated the Queen's injunction as the country gentlemen treated the statutes. Deans and canons, by the rules of their foundations, were directed to dine and keep hospitality in their common hall. Those among them who had married broke up into their separate houses, where in spite of Elizabeth they maintained their families. The unmarried "tabled abroad at the ale-houses." The singing men of the choirs became the prebends' private servants, "having the Church stipend for their wages." The cathedral plate adorned the prebendal side-boards and dinner-tables. The organ-pipes were melted into dishes for their kitchens; the organ-frames were carved into bedsteads, where the wives reposed beside their reverend lords; while the copes and vestments were coveted for their gilded embroidery, and were slit into gowns and bodices. Having children to provide for, and only a life-interest in their revenues, the chapters, like the bishops, cut down their woods, and worked their fines, their leases, their escheats and wardships, for the benefit of their own generation. Sharing their annual plunder, they ate, and drank, and enjoyed themselves while their opportunity remained; for the times were dangerous, "and none could tell what should be after them."

"They decked their wives so finely for the stuff and fashion of their garments as none were so fine and trim." By her dress and "her gait" in the street "the

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation by the Queen for the eviction of wives out of colleges. (In Cecil's hand): *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XIX.

priest's wife was known from a hundred other women ; " while in the congregations and in the cathedrals they were distinguished " by placing themselves above all other the most ancient and honourable in their cities ; " " being the Church — as the priests' wives termed it — their own Church ; and the said wives did call and take all things belonging to their church and corporation as their own ; " as " their houses," " their gates," " their porters," " their servants," " their tenants," " their manors," " their lordships," " their woods," " their corn." <sup>1</sup>

Celibacy had been found an unwholesome restriction ; married clergymen might have been expected to do their duties the better, rather than the worse, for the companionship ; and such complaints as these might be regarded as the inevitable but worthless strictures of malice and superstition. But it was not wholly so. While the shepherds were thus dividing the fleeces, the sheep were perishing. In many dioceses in England a third of the parishes were left without a clergyman, resident or non-resident. In 1561 there were in the Archdeaconry of Norwich eighty parishes where there was no resident incumbent ; in the Archdeaconry of Norfolk, a hundred and eighty parishes ; in the Archdeaconry of Suffolk a hundred and thirty parishes were almost or entirely in the same condition.<sup>2</sup> In some of these churches a curate attended on Sundays. In most of them the voices of the priests were silent in the desolate aisles. The children grew up unbaptized ; the dead buried their dead. At St. Helen's in the Isle

Destitute  
condition of  
the English  
parishes.

The church  
at St.  
Helen's.

<sup>1</sup> Complaints against the Dean and Chapter of Worcester: *Domestica MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Strype's *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. I.

of Wight the parish church had been built upon the shore for the convenience of vessels lying at the anchorage. The Provost and Fellows of Eton were the patrons, and the benefice was among the wealthiest in their gift; but the church was a ruin through which the wind and the rain made free passage. The parishioners "were fain to bury their corpses themselves." And "joining as it did hard to one of the chief roads of England, where all sorts of nations were compelled to take succour and touch, the shameful using of the same church caused the Queen's Council and the whole realm to run in slander."<sup>1</sup>

"It breedeth," said Elizabeth in a remonstrance which she addressed to Archbishop Parker, "no small offence and scandal to see and consider upon the one part, the curiosity and cost bestowed by all sorts of men upon their private houses; and on the other part, the unclean and negligent order and spare keeping of the houses of prayer, by permitting open decays and ruins of coverings of walls and windows, and by appointing unmeet and unseemly tables with foul cloths, for the communion of the sacrament; and generally leaving the place of prayer desolate of all cleanliness and of meet ornament for such a place, whereby it might be known a place provided for divine service."<sup>2</sup>

Nor again were the Protestant foreigners who had taken refuge in England any special credit to the Reformation. These exiled saints were described by the Bishop of London as "a marvellous colluvies of evil

<sup>1</sup> Presentation of George Oglander: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., *Rolls House*.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1560. (Cecil's hand): *Domestic MSS.* Vol. XV.

persons, for the most part *facinorosi ebriosi et sectarii*." Between prelates reprimanded by the Council for fraudulent administration of their estates, chapters bent on justifying Cranmer's opinion of such bodies — that "they were good vianders, and good for nothing else" — and a clergy among whom the only men who had any fear of God were the unmanageable and dangerous Puritans, the Church of England was doing little to make the Queen or the country enamoured of it. Torn up as it had been by the very roots and but lately replanted, its hanging boughs and drooping foliage showed that as yet it had taken no root in the soil, and there seemed too strong a likelihood that notwithstanding its ingenious framework and comprehensive formulas, it would wither utterly away.

"Our religion is so abused," wrote Lord Sussex to Cecil in 1562, "that the Papists rejoice; the neuters do not mislike change, and the few zealous professors lament the lack of purity. The people without discipline, utterly devoid of religion, come to divine service as to a May-game; the ministers, for disability and greediness, be had in contempt; and the wise fear more the impiety of the licentious professors than the superstition of the erroneous Papists. God hold his hand over us, that our lack of religious hearts do not breed in the mean time his wrath and revenge upon us."<sup>1</sup>

Covetousness and impiety moreover were not the only dangers. The submission of the clergy to the changes was no proof of their cordial acceptance of

<sup>1</sup> Sussex to Cecil, July 22, 1562; from Chester: *Irish MSS. Rolls House*.

them. The majority were interested only in their benefices, which they retained and neglected. A great many continued Catholics in disguise; they remained at their post scarcely concealing, if concealing at all, their true creed, and were supported in open contumacy by the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen.

Humour  
and character  
of the  
English  
country  
clergy.

In a general visitation in July 1561 the clergy were required to take the oath of allegiance. The Bishop of Carlisle reported that thirteen or fourteen of his rectors and vicars refused to appear, while in many churches in his diocese mass continued to be said under the countenance and open protection of Lord Dacres: and the clergy of the diocese generally he described as wicked "imps of Antichrist;" "ignorant, stubborn, and past measure false and subtle." Fear only he said would make them obedient, and Lord Cumberland and Lord Dacres would not allow him to meddle with them.<sup>1</sup>

The Border of Wales was as critical as the Border of Scotland. In August of the same year "the Popish justices" of Hereford commanded the observance of St. Lawrence's day as a holyday. On the eve no butcher in the town ventured to sell meat; on the day itself "no gospeller" durst work in his occupation or open his shop. A party of recusant priests from Devonshire were received in state by the magistrates, carried through the streets in procession, and so "feasted and magnified as Christ himself could not have been more reverentially entertained."<sup>2</sup>

In September, Bishop Jewel going to Oxford reported the fellows of the colleges so malignant that "if he had

<sup>1</sup> The Bishop of Carlisle to Cecil: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XVIII

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Hereford to Cecil: *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX.

proceeded peremptorily as he might," he would not have left two in any one of them; and here it was not a peer or a magistrate that Jewel feared, but one higher than both, for the Colleges appealed to the Queen against him; and Jewel could but entreat Cecil with many anxious misgivings to stand by him. He could but protest humbly that he was only acting for God's glory.<sup>1</sup>

The Bishop of Winchester found his people "obstinately grovelled in superstition and popery, lacking not priests to inculcate the same daily in their heads;" and himself so unable to provide ministers to teach them, that he petitioned for permission to unite his parishes and throw two or three into one.<sup>2</sup>

The Bishop of Durham called a clergyman before him to take the oath. The clergyman said out before a crowd, "who much rejoiced at his doings," "that neither temporal man nor woman could have power in spiritual matters but only the Pope of Rome;" and the lay authorities would not allow the Bishop to punish a man who had but expressed their own feelings; more than one member of the Council of York had refused the oath and yet had remained in office; the rest took courage when they saw those that refused their allegiance "not only unpunished but had in authority and estimation:" and distracted "with the poisonous and malicious minds about him," the Bishop said that "where he had but little wit at his coming, he had now almost none left him, and wished himself a sizar at St. John's again."<sup>3</sup>

Finally in 1562 the Bishop of Carlisle once more complained that between Lord Dacres and the Earls of

<sup>1</sup> Jewel to Cecil: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XIX.

<sup>2</sup> *MSS. Ibid.*, Vol. XXI.

<sup>3</sup> *MSS. Ibid.*, Vol. XIX.

Cumberland and Westmoreland, "God's glorious gospel could not take place in the counties under their rule." The few Protestants "durst not be known for fear of a shrewd turn;" and the lords and magistrates looked through their fingers—while the law was openly defied. The country was full of "wishings and wagers for the alteration of religion;" "rumours and tales of the Spaniards and Frenchmen to come in for the reformation of the same:" while the articles of the secret league between the Guises and Spain for the extirpation of heresy circulated in manuscript in the houses of the northern gentlemen.<sup>1</sup>

The Queen's own conduct had been so uncertain, she had persisted so long in her determination to invite the Queen of Scots into England, with a view in some form or other of acknowledging her as her successor, she had given so marked an evidence of her retrogressive tendencies in appointing these very Earls of Westmoreland and Cumberland to receive Mary Stuart on the Border, that no one ventured to support a spiritual authority which in a year or two might vanish like a mist. And it was not till Elizabeth had been driven at last into the French quarrel, had given up the interview, and had sent her troops to Havre to coöperate with the Huguenots, that the reforming party recovered heart again; and the Romanists discovered that unless they were prepared for immediate rebellion they must move more cautiously.

The first effect of their disappointment was a curious one. On the 7th of August De Quadra wrote to the Spanish minister at Rome begging him to ask the Pope in the name of the English Catholics whether they might be present without

August.  
The Catholics  
apply  
for permis-  
sion to

<sup>1</sup> *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XXI.

sin at "the common prayers." "The case," <sup>attend the English services.</sup> De Quadra said, "was a new and not an easy one, for the Prayer-book contained neither impiety nor false doctrine. The prayers themselves were those of the Catholic church altered only so far as to omit the merits and the intercession of the saints; so that except for the concealment, and the injury which might arise from the example, there would be nothing in the compliance itself positively unlawful. The communion could be evaded: on that point they did not ask for a dispensation. They desired simply to be informed whether they might attend the ordinary services." The Bishop's own opinion was that no general rule could be laid down. The compulsion to which the Catholics were exposed varied at different times and places; the harm which might arise to others varied; nor had all been equally zealous in attempting to prevent the law from passing, or in afterwards obstructing the execution of it. While therefore he had not extenuated the fault of those who had given way to the persecution, he had in some cases given them a hope that they had not sinned mortally. At the same time he had been cautious of weakening the resolution of those who had been hitherto constant. If the Pope had more decided instructions to give, he said he would gladly receive them. There was another class of cases also which there was a difficulty in dealing with. Many of the English who had fallen into heresy had repented, and desired to be absolved. But the priests who could receive them back were scanty and scattered; and there was extreme danger in resorting to them. In some instances they had been arrested, and under threat of torture had revealed their penitents' names. The Bishop said he had explained to the



Catholics generally that allowance was made for violence, but they wished for a general indulgence in place of detailed and special absolution; and although he said that he did not himself consider that this would meet the difficulty, he thought it right to mention their request.<sup>1</sup>

The question of attendance on the English service was referred to the Inquisition, where the dry truth was expressed more formally and hardly than De Quadra's leniency would have preferred.

"Given a commonwealth in which Catholics were forbidden under pain of death to exercise their religion; where the law required the subject to attend conventicles; where the Psalms were sung and the lessons taken from the Bible were read in the vulgar tongue, and where sermons were preached in defence of heretical opinions, might Catholics comply with that law without peril of damnation to their souls?"

Jesuitism was as yet but half developed. The Inquisition answered immediately with a distinct negative.

Although the Catholics were not required to communicate with heretics, yet by their presence at their services they would assume and affect to believe with them. Their object in wishing to be present could only be to pass for heretics, to escape the penalties of disobedience; and God had said, "Whosoever is ashamed of me and of my words, of him will I be ashamed." Catholics, and especially Catholics of rank, could not appear in Protestant assemblies without causing scandal to the weaker brethren.

In giving this answer Pope Pius desired to force the Catholics to declare themselves, and precipitate the collision which Philip's timidity had prevented.

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Vargas, August 7: *MS. Simancas*.

The Inquisition refuse the permission.

On the other point he was more lenient. He empowered De Quadra, as a person not amenable to the English Government, to accept himself the abjuration of heretics willing to forsake their errors, and to empower others at his discretion to do the same whenever and wherever he might think good.<sup>1</sup>

Before the order of Pius had reached England, the impatience of the Catholics had run over in the abortive conspiracy of the Poles. In itself most trivial, it served as a convenient instrument in the hands of Cecil to irritate the Protestants. The enterprise in France appealed to the loyalty of the people who flattered themselves with hopes of Calais, and the elections for the Parliament which was to meet at the spring of the new year were carried on under the stimulus of the excitement. The result was the return of a House of Commons violently Puritan; and those who were most anxious to prevent the recognition of the Queen of Scots found themselves opportunely strengthened by the premature eagerness with which her claims had been pressed.

Maitland's intended mission to London had been postponed till the meeting; but meanwhile Sir William Cecil had ominously allowed all January correspondence between them to cease;<sup>2</sup> and Randolph, on the 5th of January, wrote from Edinburgh of the general fear and uneasiness that "things would be wrought in the approaching Parliament which would give little pleasure in Scotland."<sup>3</sup> Diplomacy however still continued its efforts. Notwithstanding the rupture with the Guises, the admission of Mary

<sup>1</sup> Pius IV. to De Quadra: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Maitland to Cecil, January 3: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House*.

<sup>3</sup> Randolph to Cecil: *MS. Ibid.*

Stuart's right was still played off before Elizabeth as a condition on which France might be pacified and Calais restored: and there was always a fear that Elizabeth might turn back upon her steps and listen. To end the crisis, Sir Thomas Smith advised her to throw six thousand men some moonlight night on the Calais sands. The garrison had been withdrawn after the battle of Dreux to reinforce the Catholic army, and not two hundred men were left to defend the still incomplete fortifications.<sup>1</sup> But Elizabeth was as incapable as Philip of a sudden movement, and she had no desire to exchange her quarrel with the Guises — which after all might be peaceably composed — for a declared war with a united France. She knew that she had not deserved the confidence of the Huguenots, and she had already reason to fear that they might turn against her.

The day after the battle of Dreux, Throgmorton, unable to rejoin the Admiral, was brought in as a prisoner into the Catholic camp. The Duke of Guise sent for him, and after a long and conciliatory conversation on the state of France, spoke deprecatingly of the injustice of Elizabeth's suspicions of himself and his family, and indicated with some distinctness that if she would withdraw from Havre, Calais should be given up to her.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Smith to Elizabeth, January 2: Forbes, Vol. II. The beneficial effects of the French conquest had already been felt in the Pale. Before the expulsion of the English it was almost a desert. Sir Thomas Smith held out as an inducement for its recovery, that it had become "the plentifullest country in all France."

<sup>2</sup> "If they cannot accord among themselves, then I perceive they mind to treat with you favourably, and I believe to satisfy your Majesty about Calais, provided that from henceforth you do no more aid the Prince and the rebels." — Throgmorton to Elizabeth, January 3: *Conway MSS.*

"These men have two strings to their bow — to accord with the Prince and to accord with her Majesty also; but not with both at once to both's satisfactions." — Throgmorton to Cecil, January 3: Forbes, Vol. II.

Elizabeth, catching at an intimation which fell in with her private wishes, replied with a promise "that nothing should be done in Parliament to the displeasure of the Queen of Scots." Mary Stuart had recovered credit by her expedition to the north; and her confidence in Elizabeth's weakness again revived: not indeed that Elizabeth was really either weak or blind, but in constitutional irresolution she was forever casting her eye over her shoulder, with the singular and happy effect of keeping the Catholics perpetually deluded with false expectations, and of amusing them with hopes of a change which never came.

Her resolution about the Scottish succession promised a stormy and uneasy session; and Cecil before its commencement, still uncertain how far he could depend upon her, made another effort to rid the court of De Quadra. Cecil endeavours to get rid of De Quadra. The Spanish ambassador was suspected without reason of having encouraged the Poles. He was known to have urged Philip to violence, and to be the secret support and stay of the disaffected in England and Ireland. Confident in the expected insurrection of the Low Countries, Cecil was not unwilling to risk an open rupture with Spain, which would force Elizabeth once for all on the Protestant side.

A few days before Parliament was to meet, an Italian Calvinist in the train of the Vidame of Chartres was passing Durham Place, when a stranger who was lounging at the gate drew a pistol and fired at him. The ball passed through the Italian's cap and wounded an Englishman behind him. The assassin darted into the house with a crowd at his heels; and the Bishop knowing nothing of him, but knowing the Italian to be a heretic, bade his servants open the water gate.

The fugitive sprung down the steps, leapt into a boat, and was gone. Being taken afterwards at Gravesend, he confessed under torture that he had been bribed to commit the murder by the Provost of Paris. De Quadra, who had made himself an accomplice after the fact, was required to surrender the keys of his house; and his steward refusing to comply, the mayor sent workmen who changed the locks.

De Quadra went to the palace to complain; but the Queen without permitting herself to be seen, referred him to the Council; and Cecil at last told him that he could not be allowed to remain at Durham Place. All the Papists in London attended mass there; every malcontent, every traitor and enemy of the Government, came there at night to consult him. The disturbance which had broken out in Ireland was due to the advice given by De Quadra when O'Neil was in London; and but for the care which the Queen had taken of him he would probably have long before been murdered by the mob."<sup>1</sup>

De Quadra was not a man to be discomposed by high words. He replied that whatever he De Quadra defends himself. had done he had done by his master's orders; and complaints against himself were complaints against the King of Spain. If he had seemed to act in an unfriendly manner, the times were to blame; if he did not profess the English religion, he professed the religion of Christendom; and those noble and honourable men who came to his house to mass, came where they had a right to come, and did not deserve Cecil's imputations.

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Philip, January 10: *MS. Simancas*. The account of the matter sent by the English Council to Sir Thomas Chaloner, agrees closely with that of De Quadra, dwelling only in fuller detail on the midnight conferences of conspirators and traitors held at Durham Place. — *Spanish MSS. January 7. Rolls House.*

Hot words passed to and fro. Cecil charged the Bishop with maintaining traitors and rebels. De Quadra said it was not he or his master who were most guilty of using religion as a stalking-horse to disturb their neighbours' peace.

Cecil said the Bishop had encouraged Pole and Fortescue. The Bishop answered truly enough that he had had nothing to do with them or their follies.

"The meaning of it all," De Quadra wrote to Philip, "is this: they wish to dishearten the Catholics whom the Parliament will bring together from all parts of the realm. I am not to remain in this house, because it has secret doors and entrances which we may use for mischief. They are afraid, and they have cause to be afraid. The heretics are furious at seeing me maintain the Catholics here with some kind of authority, and they cannot endure it; but a few days ago the Lord Keeper said that neither the crown nor religion were safe so long as I was in the realm. It is true enough, as Cecil says, that I may any day be torn in pieces by the populace. Ever since this war in France, and the demonstrations in Paris against the heretics, the Protestant preachers have clamoured from the pulpit for the execution of 'Papists.' Even Cecil himself is bent on cruelty; and did they but dare they would not leave a Catholic alive in the land.

Threat of a  
persecution  
of the  
Catholics.

"But the faithful are too large a number, and if it comes to that they will sell their lives dear. London indeed is bad enough; it is the worst place in the realm: and it is likely—I do not say it in any fear, but only because it is a thing which your Majesty should know—that if they force me to reside within

the walls of the city, something may happen to me. The Council themselves tell me that if I am detected in any conspiracy my privilege as ambassador shall not save me. They wish to goad me on to violence that they may have matter to lay before the Queen against me."<sup>1</sup>

Believing or pretending to believe that De Quadra, notwithstanding his denial, was really implicated in the affair of the Poles, Cecil overshot his mark. Chaloner was instructed to demand the Bishop's recall; and meanwhile he was allowed still to reside in Durham Place, but with restrictions upon his liberty. The water gate was closed, sentinels were posted at the lodge, the house was watched day and night, and every person who went in or out was examined and registered.<sup>2</sup>

While this fracas was at its heat, on the 12th of January Parliament opened, and with it the first convocation of the English Church. The sermon at St. Paul's was preached by Day, the Provost of Eton; that at Westminster by Dr. Nowell. The subject of both was the same: the propriety of "killing the caged wolves" — that is to say the Catholic bishops in the Tower — with the least possible delay.<sup>3</sup>

The session then began. The Lord Keeper in the usual speech from the throne dwelt on the internal disorders of the country, the irreligion

Opening of  
Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Philip, January 10: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Same to Same, January 27: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "El Martes se abrió el Parlamento, y lo que se predicó tanto en Westminster en presencia de la Reyna como en San Pablo en el sínodo eclesiástico fué principalmente persuadir que se matassen los lobos encerrados; entendiendo por los obispos presos." — De Quadra to —, January 14: *MS. Ibid.* It is mournful to remember that Nowell was the author of the English Church Catechism in its present form. See note at the end of this volume.

of the laity, the disorder and idleness of the clergy. He touched briefly on the events of the three last years ; and in speaking by name of the House of Guise, he said that if they had not been encountered in Scotland they must have been fought with under the walls of York.

Then passing to France, he said that the Queen by the same cause had been compelled to a second similar interference there. He alluded pointedly to a disloyal faction in England, by whom the foreign enemies were encouraged. He spoke shortly of the late devilish conspiracy, and then concluded with saying that reluctant as they knew the Queen to be to ask her subjects for money, they would be called upon to meet the expenses which she had incurred in the service of the Commonwealth.

Sir Thomas Williams, the Speaker of the Lower House, followed next in the very noblest spirit of English Puritanism. With quaint allegoric and classical allusions, interlaced with illustrations from the Bible, he conveyed to the Queen the gratitude of the people for a restored religion and her own moderate and gentle Government. He described the country however as still suffering from ignorance, error, covetousness, and a thousand meaner vices. Schools were in decay, universities deserted, benefices unsupplied. As he passed through the streets, he heard almost as many oaths as words. Then turning to the Queen herself he went on thus—

“ We now assembled, as diligent in our calling, have thought good to move your Majesty to build a fort for the surety of the realm, to the repulsing of your enemies abroad : which must be set upon firm ground and

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steadfast, having two gates — one commonly open, the other as a postern, with two watchmen at either of them — one governor, one lieutenant, and no good thing there wanting ; the same to be named the Fear of God, the governor thereof to be God, your Majesty the lieutenant, the stones the hearts of your faithful people, the two watchmen at the open gate to be called Knowledge and Virtue, the two at the postern gate to be called Mercy and Truth.

“ This fort is invincible if every man will fear God ; for all governors reign and govern by the two watchmen Knowledge and Virtue ; and if you, being the lieutenant, see Justice and Prudence, her sisters, executed, then shall you rightly use your office ; and for such as depart out of this fort, let them be let out at the postern by the two watchmen Mercy and Truth, and then shall you be well at home and abroad.”<sup>1</sup>

All that was most excellent in English heart and feeling — the spirit which carried England safe at last through its trials — spoke in these words. Those in whom that spirit lived were few in number ; there was never an age in this world’s history when they were other than few ; but few or many they are at all times the world’s true sovereign leaders ; and Elizabeth among her many faults knew these men when she saw them, and gave them their place, and so prospered she and her country. The clergy cried out for the blood of the disaffected ; the lay Speaker would let them go by the postern of Mercy and Truth.

These introductions over, the House proceeded to business. The special subject of which all minds were full had been passed over both by Bacon and Williams ;

<sup>1</sup> Speech of Sir Thomas Williams: *Dewes’ Journals*, pp. 64, 65.

but the Commons fastened upon it without a moment's delay. There were no signs of the Queen's marrying, notwithstanding her half promise to her first Parliament. She had been near death, and the frightful uncertainty as to what would follow should she die indeed was no longer tolerable.

On the 18th the question was talked over: the different claimants and their pretensions were briefly considered, and as had been anticipated the tone of feeling was as adverse as possible to the Queen of Scots. The Scottish nobles had not been forgiven for having supported her in refusing to ratify the treaty. To secure their sovereign the reversion of the English crown they were held to have repaid the assistance which had saved them from ruin with the basest ingratitude. Sir Ralph Sadler broke out with a fierce invective upon the "false, beggarly, and perjured" nation, whom "the very stones" in the English streets would rise against.<sup>1</sup> Another speaker challenged Mary Stuart's pretensions on the ground of English law. It was admitted on all sides, this person said, that the Queen of Scots' succession had been "barred" by the will of Henry the Eighth; but some people pretended that the will had not been signed with his hand, some that he had never made a will at all; there was no mention of it on the Patent Rolls;<sup>2</sup> and if the original had existed, why was it not produced? This last question could not be answered;<sup>3</sup> but there was proof enough of the reality of the will; there were abundant entries of this and that detail of

Debate in  
Parliament  
on the suc-  
cession.

<sup>1</sup> Sadler *Papers*, Vol. III. p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> This is true. Neither is there any record of the will on the Roll, nor any sign of erasure where the entry ought to have been.

<sup>3</sup> This mysterious concealment can only be explained as the deliberate act of Elizabeth, who was determined to maintain Mary Stuart's rights, and who felt that it would be impossible if the will was produced.

it which had been acted upon; and of the executors there were still many who survived. The dispute however was not narrowed to that single issue. The Queen of Scots was an alien, and no person could inherit in England who was not born of English parents on English soil. Lady Lennox was an alien also; for though she was born at York, it was but in a passing visit; her father Angus was a Scot, and when he married her mother he had another wife living. The only legal heir was the heir appointed by Henry the Eighth — Lady Catherine Grey, the injured and imprisoned wife of Hertford.<sup>1</sup>

The result of the first discussion was the resolution to prepare an address to the crown. But De Quadra was able to learn that the question would not be settled; the Queen was determined to keep her promise to Mary Stuart; and Cecil on the 14th wrote to Sir Thomas Smith that however Parliament might press her "the unwillingness of her Majesty to have a successor known" would prevent a conclusion.<sup>2</sup> The strength of Elizabeth's resolution would soon be tried. Meanwhile on the 20th Cecil explained to the Commons the cause of the interference in France.<sup>3</sup> On the 25th he was heard at the bar of the House of Lords on the same subject; and his speech was chiefly directed against Philip, whom he

Cecil  
inveighs  
against  
Philip.

<sup>1</sup> Oration spoken in Parliament. — *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XXVII. Lady Catherine Grey's popularity had been increased by an accident which had redoubled Elizabeth's displeasure. Sir Edmund Warner, taking pity on his young prisoner, had allowed her husband to have access to her room; the result was a second infant; and fecundity was a virtue especially valued in an English princess. "Este negocio de Catalina," wrote De Quadra on the 27th of January, "va cobrando fuerças entre estos de la nueva religion, y el parir la hace bien quista del pueblo." — De Quadra to Philip: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Cecil to Sir T. Smith, January 14: Wright's *Elizabeth and her Times*, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> Dewes' *Journals*

accused of having entangled England in war while its titular king, and then of having betrayed it at Cambray; of having taken part with the Queen's enemies in every difficulty in which she had been involved; and of having lent his strength to make the Duke of Guise sovereign of France and Mary Stuart Queen of England — "Queen of England," "as she was already styled by her household at Holyrood."<sup>1</sup>

A penal Bill against the Catholics was next laid before the Upper House. It was described as A penal law against the Catholics. "a law against those who would not receive the new religion," bloody in its provisions as the preachers desired, and contrived rather as a test of opinion than of loyalty.

At once and without reserve or fear the Catholic Lords spoke out: Northumberland said the heretics might be satisfied with holding other men's bishoprics and benefices without seeking their lives; when they had killed the clergy they would kill the temporal lords next; and the Earl swore that he would speak as his conscience bade him; he would protest against the law; and he believed that most of the lords who heard him were of the same opinion with himself.<sup>2</sup>

Montague followed on the same side and at greater length: —

"A law was proposed," he said, "to compel Papists under pain of death to confess the Protestant Speech of Lord Montague. doctrine to be true. Such a law was neither

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Philip, January 27: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Same to Same: *MS. Ibid.* The Supremacy Bill, which ultimately passed, was brought into the House of Lords on the 25th of February. De Quadra's letter describing Northumberland's speech was written on the 27th of January, and must therefore refer to some other Bill — unnoticed in the meagre journals — which was thrown out. The ambassador distinctly says that there was a vote — "viniendo á votare los Señores."

necessary nor was it just. The Catholics were living peaceably, neither disputing nor preaching nor troubling the commonwealth in any way. The doctrine of the Protestants, if they had a doctrine, had been established against the consent of the ecclesiastical estate; and it was absurd, so long as the world was full of disputes and the opinions of those best able to judge were divided, for one set of men to compel another to accept their views as true or to pretend that there was no longer room for doubt. The Protestants might be content with what they had got, without forcing other men to profess what they did not believe, and to make God a witness of the lie. To take an oath against their consciences or else to be put to death was no alternative to be offered to reasonable men; and if it came to that extremity the Catholics would defend themselves. A majority might be found to vote for the law if the bishops were included; but the bishops were a party to the quarrel and had no right to be judges in it. The bishops had no business with pains and penalties; they should keep to their pulpits and their excommunications, and leave questions of public policy to the lay lords.”<sup>1</sup>

Had Montague been despotic in England the Protestants would have had as short a shrift as the Huguenots were finding in France; but even a Catholic of the sixteenth century when in opposition could be more temperate than a Protestant in power. The Bill was lost or withdrawn to reappear in a new form; and the peers who had checked the zeal of Bonner and Gardiner had the credit of staying in time the less pardonable revenge of their antagonists.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Reformation*: Strype, Vol. I.

On the French question there were analogous differences of opinion. When the temper of Parliament had been felt, it was found that notwithstanding the Puritan constitution of the Lower House the feeling was in favour only of the recovery of Calais. The Lords and Commons "resolved to yield their whole power in goods and bodies to recover Calais, to maintain Newhaven and any war which might arise thereof;" but they were not so ready to contribute to the charge "of supporting the army of the Protestants."<sup>1</sup> The disposition of the people was the same as the disposition of the Queen; and Elizabeth, warned on many sides that she could not trust Condé, and only half trusting Châtillon, wrote to Sir Thomas Smith that in a doubtful quarrel she could not press her subjects too far. He need not hint to the Admiral that there was "any slackness" on her part; but "she would be glad if some indirect means could be devised" to compose the religious difficulties — though "toleration was not stablished so universally as the Admiral desired" — provided England could have "its right in Calais and the members thereof," and the money which she had lent Condé partially if not wholly repaid.<sup>2</sup>

Both Queen and country were falling back on the "hollow dealing" which she had regretted so bitterly on the fall of Rouen; and then, as ever, it was found dangerous to follow private objects behind an affected zeal for a noble cause. Six thousand Englishmen paid with their lives for this trifling with Châtillon, while the coveted Calais was forfeited forever; the Huguenots obtained the half toleration which Elizabeth de-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Sir T. Smith, January 25: Forbes, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

sired for them ; and they found the value of it on the day of St. Bartholomew.

But to return to the succession.

In the interval of these discussions the address of the Commons was drawn ; and on the 28th the Speaker with the whole House attended to present it in the gallery of the palace. Commencing with an elaborate compliment on the Queen's services to the country, Sir Thomas Williams proceeded to say that the nation required for their perfect security some assurance for the future. Her Majesty had been dangerously ill, and the Commons had supposed that in calling them together so soon after her recovery, she had intended to use their assistance to come to some conclusion. He reminded her of Alexander's generals ; he reminded her — more to the purpose — of York and Lancaster ; and the realm he said was beset with enemies within and without. There were “ a faction of heretics in her realm — contentious and malicious Papists — who most unnaturally against their country, most madly against their own safety, and most treacherously against her Highness, not only hoped for the woful day of her death, but also lay in wait to advance some title under which they might revive their late unspeakable cruelties. The Commons saw nothing to withstand their desires but her only life ; they feared much to what attempt the hope of such opportunity — nothing withstanding them but her life — might move the Catholics ; and they found how necessary it was that there should be more set and known between her Majesty's life and the unkindness and cruelty they intended to revive.” Ignorant as they were to whom the crown ought to descend, and being unable to judge of the limitation of the suc-

A petition on the succession is presented to the Queen.

cession in King Henry's will, their first desire was that her Majesty would marry, their second that she would use the opportunity of the session to allow some successor in default of heirs of her body "to be determined by Act of Parliament;" while they on their part "for the preservation and surety of her Majesty and her issue" would devise "the most penal, sharp, and terrible statutes to all who should practise against her safety."

By the nomination of a Protestant successor Elizabeth had everything to gain; while if Mary Stuart were acknowledged, her life would not be safe for a day. Her policy in every way was to acquiesce in the prayer of the Commons; and yet she listened with ill-concealed impatience. She said briefly that on a matter of such moment she could give no answer without further consideration, and she then abruptly turned her back on the deputation and withdrew.<sup>1</sup>

February.

If De Quadra was rightly informed she had been half prevailed on to name the Earl of Huntingdon, with the condition that she herself should have Lord Robert. But Dudley had made no advances in the favour of the Peers, and Huntingdon was a Puritan and Dudley's brother-in-law; Lord Arundel with the Howards still inclined to Lady Catherine Grey, of whom the Queen could not endure to hear; and thus all parties were at issue.

The Upper House followed the Lower with an address to the same purpose. Elizabeth said bitterly that "the lines which they saw in her face were not wrinkles but small-pox marks; God had given chil-

<sup>1</sup> "Con tanto les volvió las espaldas y se entró en su aposento." — De Quadra to Philip, February 6: *MS. Sinancas*.



dren to St. Elizabeth, and old as she was he might give children to her; if she appointed a successor it would deluge England in blood."<sup>1</sup>

Both Houses were profoundly angry. The Protestants supposed that the Queen was sacrificing the Reformation and the country to her secret passion for Lord Robert; that she was studiously allowing the Scottish Queen's pretensions to drift into tacit recognition. Day after day throughout the session the subject continued to be harped upon. A Bill was proposed by Cecil by which if the Queen died the Privy-Council were to continue in office with imperial authority till Parliament could decide on the future sovereign. But this too came to nothing,<sup>2</sup> and the Queen continued to give evasive answers till the prorogation of Parliament should leave her free again.

And yet the Protestant party were determined to carry something which should answer their purpose; and at once — though the first penal law had been lost — enable them to hold down the Catholics, and in case of Elizabeth's death, to prevent Mary Stuart's succession.<sup>3</sup> To check the exultation of Montagne and his friends at their first success in Parliament, Cecil contrived another demonstration against De Quadra. On the day of the Purification the foreign Catholics in London came as usual in large numbers to hear mass at Durham Place. The guard at the gate took their names as they passed in; and before the service was over an officer of the palace guard entered from the

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Simancas.*

<sup>2</sup> Draft of an Act of Parliament, in Cecil's hand: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XXVIII.

<sup>3</sup> "Esta ley contra los Catolicos no se ha hecho con otra fin mas principal que de excluir la de Escocia desta sucesion por via indirecta." — De Quadra to Philip, February 20.

river, arrested every Spaniard, Fleming, and Italian present, and carried them off to the Fleet. They were informed on their release that thenceforward no stranger, not even a casual visitor to the realm, should attend a service unsanctioned by the laws.<sup>1</sup>

On the 20th of February a Bill was introduced, by which, without mention of doctrine, Protestant or Catholic, all persons who maintained the Pope's authority or refused the oath of allegiance to the Queen, for the first offence should incur a premunire, for the second the pains of treason. Should the Bill pass, it was believed to be the death-warrant of the Penal Bill against the Catholics. imprisoned bishops; and even in the Lower

House voices were raised in opposition. Cecil in a passionate speech declared that the House was bound in gratitude not to reject what was necessary for the Queen's security. Her life was in danger because she was the defender of English liberty; the King of Spain desired her to send representatives to Trent; she had refused, and he was threatening her with war; and the Pope was offering millions of gold to pay the cost of an invasion of England. The Queen herself would die before she would yield, but her subjects must stand by her with laws and lives and goods. There was no help elsewhere. The Germans used fine words, but they failed at the pinch. The Emperor had been gained over by the Pope. Their reliance must be on themselves and their own arms, and nowhere else.

After Cecil rose Sir Francis Knowles, who said that there had been enough of words: it was time to draw the sword. The Commons were generally Puritan. The opposition of the Lords had been neutralized by a special provision in their favour, and the Bill was

<sup>1</sup> De Quadra to Philip, February 6 and February 20.

carried. The obligation to take the oath was extended to the holder of every office, lay or spiritual, in the realm. The clergy were required to swear whenever their ordinary might be pleased to tender them the oath; the members of the House of Commons were required to swear when they took their seats; members of the Upper House were alone exempt, the Act declaring with perhaps designed irony that the Queen was otherwise assured of the loyalty of the peers.<sup>1</sup> Without this proviso De Quadra was assured that they would have refused to consent; and even with it he clung to the hope that the Catholic noblemen would be true to themselves. But he was too sanguine, and Cecil carried his point.

Heath, Bonner, Thirlby, Feckenham, and the other prisoners at once prepared to die. The Protestant ecclesiastics would as little spare them as they had spared the Protestants. They would have shown no mercy themselves, and they looked for none.

Nor is there any doubt what their fate would have been had it rested with the English bishops. Immediately after the Bill had received the royal assent, the hated Bonner was sent for to be the first victim. Horne, Bishop of Winchester, offered him the oath, which it was thought certain that he would refuse, and he would then be at the mercy of his enemies. Had it been so the English Church would have disgraced itself; but Bonner's fate would have called for little pity. The law however stepped in between the prelates and their prey — as Portia between Shylock and Antonio — and saved them both. By the Act archbishops and bishops might alone tender the oath; and Bonner evaded the dilemma by chal-

Trial of  
Bonner.

<sup>1</sup> 5 Eliz. cap. 1.

lenging his questioner's title to the name. When Horne was appointed to the see of Winchester his predecessor was alive; the English bishops generally had been so irregularly consecrated, that their authority, until confirmed by Act of Parliament, was of doubtful legality; and the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench caught at the plea to prevent a needless cruelty. Bonner was returned to the Marshalsea, and Horne gained nothing by his eagerness but a stigma upon himself and his brethren.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining business of the session passed over without difficulty: the grant of money was profusely liberal;<sup>2</sup> an Act was passed for the maintenance of the navy, which will be mentioned more particularly in a future chapter; a tillage Act revived the statutes of Henry the Seventh and Henry the Eighth for the rebuilding of farm-houses and breaking up the large pastures.<sup>3</sup> The restoration of the currency made a wages Act again possible, but the altered prices of meat and corn required a revision of the scale. The magistrates in the different counties were empowered to fix the rate according to the local prices, their awards being liable to revision by the Court of Chancery, to which returns were to be periodically made.<sup>4</sup> Other remarkable provisions were

Acts for the  
reorganization  
of  
society.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of the Reformation*: Strype, Vol. I. part 2, pp. 2-8.

<sup>2</sup> Two fifteenths and tenths on personal property, and an income-tax of ten per cent. for two years.

<sup>3</sup> 5 Eliz. cap. 2.

<sup>4</sup> 5 Eliz. cap. 4. Wages varied with the time of year, and the rates were read out every month in the parish churches. The average in 1563 may be gathered with tolerable accuracy from the scale which was ruled for the county of Bucks before the passing of the Act. The price of food after the restoration of the currency was found to have risen a third. The penny, which in terms of bread, meat, and beer had been worth under Henry the Eighth twelve pence of our money, was now worth eight pence. The table of wages in Bucks in 1561 was for the common labourer sixpence a

added to restore the shaken texture of English life. During the late confused time the labourer had wandered from place to place, doing a day's work where he pleased. Masters were now required to hire their servants by the year, neither master to part with servant nor servant with master till the contract was expired, unless the separation was sanctioned by two magistrates.

These acts all indicated a recovered or recovering tone. The solid English life, after twenty years of convulsion, was regaining consistency.

The well-being of the people however turned on the success of Elizabeth's policy, and hung on the thread of her single life; while neither Lords nor Commons had as yet received an answer to their addresses. On the 16th of February she sent a message by Cecil that she had not forgotten them, and entreating their patience: but ten days passed and nothing was done; and by that time Maitland had arrived from Scotland with an offer from his mistress — of course as a condition of recognition — to make herself “a *moyenneur* of a peace” with France, which would give back Calais to England. There was a hope that by such an offer even the unwillingness of Parliament might be overcome; and Maitland was prudently feeling his way when one of those strange adventures occurred, which so often crossed the path of the Queen of Scots, and gave her history the interest — not perhaps of tragedy, for she was selfish in her politics and sensual in her passions — but of some high-wrought melodrama.

In the galley in which she returned to Scotland there

day from Easter to All Hallows; five pence a day from All Hallows to Easter; and eight pence a day in the hay and corn harvest. — Tyldsley's Report: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XIX.

was present a young poet and musician named Châtelar. Gifted, well born, and passionate, the handsome youth had for some months sighed at her feet in Holyrood. He went back to France, but he could not remain there. The moth was recalled to the flame whose warmth was life and death to it. He was received on his return with the warmest welcome. Mary Stuart admitted him to her labours in the Cabinet, and he shared her pleasures in the festival or the dance. "So familiar was he with the Queen early and late that scarcely could any of the nobility have access to her."<sup>1</sup> She leant upon his shoulder in public, she bewitched him in private with her fascinating confidence;<sup>2</sup> and interpreting her behaviour and perhaps her words too favourably, he one night concealed himself in her bedroom. He was discovered by the ladies of the bedchamber before the Queen retired; and the next morning she commanded him with a sharp reprimand to leave the court. But Mary Stuart pardoned easily the faults of those whom she liked. Châtelar was forgiven, and again misconstruing her kindness, four nights later the poor youth repeated his rash adventure. He came out upon the Queen while she was undressing, and "set upon her with such force and in such impudent sort that she was fain to cry out for help."

<sup>1</sup> Knox.

<sup>2</sup> Randolph, who was describing what he had himself seen, said in a letter to Cecil, "Your honour heareth the beginning of a lamentable story whereof such infamy will arise as I fear, howsoever well the wound be healed, the scar will forever remain. Thus your honour seeth what mischief cometh of the over-great familiarity that any such personage sheweth unto so unworthy a creature and abject a varlet, as her Grace used with him. Whatsoever colour can be laid upon it, that it was done for his master's sake (Châtelar had been in the train of M. d'Amville), I cannot but say it had been too much to have been used to his master's self by any princess alive."—*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

Hearing her shrieks Murray rushed into the room. Châtellar was of course seized, and carried off and tortured. Confessing the worst intentions with wild bravado, he was executed a week after in the Market Place at St. Andrew's, chanting a love-song as he died; and the Queen after some natural distress recovered her spirits.

She had probably nothing worse to accuse herself of than thoughtlessness; and the truth might have been told without danger of compromising her. It is strange that Maitland, in a fear that it might affect the success of his mission, thought it worth his while to cover the story with an incredible lie. Maitland had two objects in London — one to secure the succession for his mistress by assuring Elizabeth that she had nothing to fear from so true a friend; the other to consult the Spanish ambassador on the marriage with the Prince of Spain, which of all things on earth Elizabeth most dreaded for her. It was this last object chiefly which he thought the Châtellar affair might hinder; he therefore told De Quadra that Châtellar before his death had declared that he had been employed by the Huguenots to compromise Mary Stuart's reputation; he had concealed himself in her room, intending to be seen in leaving it, and then to escape.<sup>1</sup>

Two days after Châtellar was executed Mary Stuart  
Murch.  
 Murder of  
 the Duke of  
 Guise. lost a far nobler friend. A pistol-ball fired from behind a hedge closed the career of the

<sup>1</sup> "Las personas," De Quadra adds, "que le enviaron á esta tan gran traycion, dice Ledington que han sido mas de una; pero la que principalmente le dió la instruccion y el recaudo fué Madame de Curoso." — De Quadra to Philip, March 28. Madame de Curoso was probably Charlotte de Laval, the wife of the Admiral. This preposterous story passed current with the Spaniards, and reappears in a despatch of De Chaulonnay to Philip. — Teulet, Vol. V. pp. 2, 3.

Duke of Guise under the walls of Orleans. The assassin Poltrot was a boy of nineteen. Suspicion pointed to the Admiral and Theodore Beza as the instigators of the crime; and Châtillon never wholly convinced the world of his innocence, for Poltrot himself accused him while the horses were tearing him in pieces. However it was, that single shot shattered the Catholic confederacy and changed the politics of Europe. The Guise family fell with their head into sudden ruin. The Duc d'Aumale, badly wounded at Dreux, lived but to hear of his brother's murder, and followed him in a few hours. The Grand Prior died of a cold caught in the same battle.<sup>1</sup> Of the six brothers who but a few months before held in their hands the fortunes of France three were dead; of the three remaining, the Marquis d'Elbœuf was shut up in Caen Castle, closely besieged by Châtillon; the Cardinal of Lorraine was absent at Trent; and the Cardinal of Guise was the single member of the family who had no capacity. The other great leaders of France had disappeared with equal suddenness: Montmorency was a prisoner in Orleans, Condé a prisoner in Paris; St. André was dead, Navarre was dead; Catherine found herself relieved of rivalry and able to govern as she pleased. The Queen of Scots had no longer a friend in France who cared to stand by her; and well indeed after this blow might she lament to Randolph the misery of life, and say with tears "she perceived now the world was not that which men would make it, nor they the happiest that lived the longest in it."<sup>2</sup>

Mary Stuart's prospects in England had been on the

<sup>1</sup> Varillas.

<sup>2</sup> Randolph to Cecil, April 1: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*



eve of arrangement, when Elizabeth, relieved of the dread of the Duke of Guise, believed herself again at leisure to trifle, or to insist on new conditions on which the recognition should be made.

The following letters and abstracts of letters for a moment lift the veil of diplomacy, and reveal the inward ambitions, aims, and workings of the different parties : —

SUMMARY OF A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF AQUILA  
TO THE KING OF SPAIN.<sup>1</sup>

*March 18.*

The Bishop of Aquila understanding that Maitland, the Secretary of the Queen of Scots, desired to speak with him, invited the said Secretary to dinner. The conversation turned chiefly on two points — the succession of his mistress to the English crown and her marriage.

On the first Maitland said, that with the Queen of England's permission he had discussed with Cecil the terms on which the Queen of Scots would relinquish her present claim on the English crown, provided the succession was secured to her in the event of the Queen of England's death without children.

The conditions he said had been arranged; and the two Queens were to have met to conclude the agreement; when the death of the Duke of Guise changed all, and he could no longer hope that his mistress's right would ever be admitted.

The Bishop seeing that Maitland was perplexed, and wishing to learn whether he had anything more on his mind, said that if his mistress would marry where the

<sup>1</sup> The original letter of De Quadra is not preserved. The translation is from a contemporary abstract.

Queen of England wished, she might then no doubt have all that she desired.

Maitland replied that to this there were two objections: in the first place the Queen of Scots would never marry a Protestant; in the second place she would marry neither Catholic nor Protestant at the will of, or in connexion with, the Queen of England, not though the succession could be absolutely made sure to her. The husband whom Elizabeth would give her would be but some English vassal; and if she married below her rank her difficulties would remain as great as ever. To be nominated as successor would be of no use to her unless she had power to enforce her rights;<sup>1</sup> while she would forfeit the good will of the Catholics by seeming to give way. The Earl of Arran she abhorred; the Duke of Ferrara, whom the Queen-mother of France proposed to her, she despised. She would sooner die than marry any one lower in rank than the husband whom she had lost.

The Bishop asked what she would think of the Archduke Carlos of Austria.

Maitland replied that the Archduke would satisfy neither his mistress nor her subjects. He was a mere dependant on the King of Spain, and could not be thought of unless the King of Spain — as was not likely — would interfere in England on a large scale, emphatically and effectually.

The Secretary then spoke at length of the fears of the Queen of England lest the Prince of Spain should marry his mistress. The Queen-mother too, he said, feared it equally and with good reason, for if the King of Spain would consent, he might add England,

The Scots desire a marriage between Mary Stuart and the Prince of Spain.

<sup>1</sup> "Porque sin fuerças proprias nunca podria executar la declaration que se hiciese."

Ireland, and Scotland to his dominions. Nothing could be more easy, so great was the anxiety of the English Catholics for that marriage and for the union of the crowns. When the Bishop objected that the Scots might oppose it on the ground of religion, the Secretary admitted that the nobility of Scotland were generally Protestant ; but they were devoted to the Queen, and would be content that she should marry a Catholic if it was for the interests of the realm. Means could be found to work upon them. The Catholics at first might be allowed mass in their private houses — by and by they would have churches. Lord James was most favourable to the marriage, and if the Bishop wished he would come to London and speak with him.

As to the feeling in England, the Bishop confirms Maitland's account from his own knowledge. One nobleman offers, if it can be brought about, to serve the King of Spain with a thousand horse ; others are almost as forward ; and the state of the realm is such that the union of the island under a single powerful and Christian prince is the sole means by which religion can be reformed. The whole body of the English Catholics desire the Bishop to represent this in their names to the King of Spain as spoken from their very heart and soul ; they assure him that it is their universal wish, and that no obstacle can prevent it from being carried into effect if his Majesty will only consent.

DE QUADRA TO PHILIP II.

*London, March 28.*

“Maitland tells me that four or five days ago, speaking of the affairs of France and of the Queen of

Scots' marriage, the Queen of England said that if his mistress would be guided by her, she would give her a husband that should be all which she could desire ; the Queen of Scots should have Lord Robert, on whom God had bestowed so many charms that were she herself to marry she would prefer him to all the princes in the world.

"Maitland by his own account replied that her Majesty was giving a wonderful proof of her affection for the Queen his mistress, in offering to bestow upon her an object so dear to herself. If his mistress came to love Lord Robert as much as her Majesty loved him, he feared even so she might not marry him for fear of depriving her Majesty of what she so much valued.

"After more of these courtesies the Queen said, 'Would to God the Earl of Warwick was as charming as his brother—we might then each have had our own.' Maitland would not understand the hint; but she kept to the subject and went on. 'Not that my Lord Warwick is ill-looking or ungraceful, but he is rough, and lacks the sweet delicacy of Robert; he is brave enough and noble enough to deserve the hand of a princess.'

*Elizabeth  
proposes  
Lord Robert  
for the  
Queen of  
Scots.*

"Maitland did not like the ground on which he found himself, so to end the conversation he said that the Queen his mistress was still young; her Majesty had better first marry Lord Robert herself; if she had children, it would be all which the realm required of her; should no such event happen, and should God call her to his mercy, his mistress might inherit both crown and husband; and with one or the other of them there could be no doubt of a family. The Queen laughed, and the subject dropped.

"There has been a proposal in the Upper House to

limit the succession to the heads of four or five English families, leaving the Queen to choose among them. The plan was Cecil's, and the object was of course to secure the crown to some one of his own party; while the pride of the great houses named would be flattered with the distinction, whether her choice rested on them or not. The Queen herself wishes to be allowed to bequeath the crown by will. They will perhaps pass a resolution excluding women to make sure of keeping out the Queen of Scots."

SUMMARY OF A LETTER FROM DE QUADRA TO THE  
KING OF SPAIN.<sup>1</sup>

*April 3.*

"The Queen is really anxious for this marriage between the Queen of Scots and Lord Robert; but she is not likely to succeed. Maitland demands  
*April.* the recognition, and threatens great things if it is not conceded. With the succession secured to her, he tells the Queen that she will be content to remain on good terms. If she is left in uncertainty, he says that she must seek other friends abroad.

"Cecil answers that if means can be found to provide for his mistress's safety during her lifetime, and to prevent a religious revolution from following afterwards, the claims of the Queen of Scots shall be admitted forthwith. Maitland rejoins that this is nothing but words. He has now gone to France. At parting he told me that if his mistress could not have our Prince, she would do what she could to obtain the King of France. The Archduke Carlos she will not hear of. Her own subjects and the English Catholics alike object to the Archduke, and would prefer Lady Margaret's son, Lord Darnley.

<sup>1</sup> Contemporary abstract.

"Rawlet the Secretary of the Queen of Scots assures De Quadra that the Lord James and the whole Scotch nobility, Protestant as well as Catholic, wish for the Prince of Spain. Ten or twelve English peers and knights also have memorialized the Bishop about it, and some of them are willing to swear fealty to the Prince and the Queen of Scots together."<sup>1</sup>

Unaware of the pit which threatened to open under her feet, and warming herself with the project of the Lord Robert marriage, which would elevate her favourite and as she supposed would be a shelter to herself, Elizabeth meanwhile felt herself able to dismiss the Parliament and to answer the addresses of the Houses before they separated.

On Saturday the 10th of April she went down to the Lords to give her assent to the acts of the session. Sir Thomas Williams paid her the usual compliments, comparing her to the great queens of fable or history — to "Palestina," who reigned before the deluge, to Ceres who followed her, and other benefactresses of mankind, real or imaginary; without entering again upon painful subjects, he contented himself with expressing a wish at the close of his speech to see her happily married.

A formal answer of a corresponding kind was read by Bacon — and then Elizabeth rose and in her own style spoke as follows :

"Since there can be no duer debt than prince's word, to keep that unspotted, for my part, as one that would be loth that the self thing that keeps the merchant's credit from craze, should be

Speech of  
Elizabeth in  
Parliament.

<sup>1</sup> *MS. Simancas.*

the cause that princes' speech should merit blame, and so their honour quail : an answer therefore I will make, and this it is :

“The two petitions that you presented me, in many words expressed, contained these two things in sum as of your cares the greatest — my marriage and my successor — of which two, the last I think is best to be touched ; and of the other a silent thought may serve ; for I had thought it had been so desired as none other tree's blossoms should have been minded ere hope of my fruit had been denied you. But to the last, think not that you had needed this desire, if I had seen a time so fit, and it so ripe to be denounced. The greatness of the cause therefore and need of your returns doth make me say that which I think the wise may easily guess — that as a short time for so long a continuance ought not to pass by rote, as many telleth tales, even so as cause by conference with the learned shall show me matter worthy utterance for your behoof, so shall I more gladly pursue your good after my days, than with my prayers be a means to linger my living thread.

“And this much more will I add for your comfort. I have good record in this place that other means<sup>1</sup> have been thought of than you mentioned, perchance for your good as much, and for my surety no less, which if presently could have been executed had not been deferred. But I hope I shall die in quiet with *Nunc Dimittis*, which cannot be without I see some glimpses of your following after my graved bones. And by the way if any doubt that I am as it were by vow or determination bent never to trade that life (of marriage), put out that heresy ; your belief is awry — for as I

<sup>1</sup> i. e. — The Lord Robert marriage as the condition of the recognition.

think it best for a private woman, so do I strive with myself to think it not most meet for a prince — and if I can bend my will to your need, I will not resist such a mind.”<sup>1</sup>

With this oration Parliament was prorogued; and Elizabeth had kept her word to the Queen of Scots.

Prorogation  
of Parlia-  
ment.

With the Parliament ended also the first convocation of the English Church — of the doings of which something should be said — although what convocation might decide affected little either the stability or the teaching of the institution which it represented.

The Church of England had been reproached with teaching no definite doctrine. It was proposed that “Nowell’s Catechism,” “Edward’s Articles,” and “Jewel’s Apology,” lately written at Cecil’s instigation, should be bound together and receive authoritative sanction — “whosoever should speak against the same to be ordered as in cases of heresy.” An effort was made to get rid of vestments and surplices, organs and bells — “the table to stand no more altarwise;” the sign of the cross to be abolished in baptism; and kneeling at the Communion to be left indifferent, or discountenanced as leading to superstition.

Proceedings  
of Convo-  
cation.

The more advanced Calvinists demanded the reinvigoration of that aged iniquity, the Ecclesiastical Courts, with a new code of canon law; the clergy meanwhile

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript version of this speech, at Hatfield, leaves little doubt that the text as given by D’Ewes is substantially correct. The few varieties of reading do not affect the more complicated passages, and we are obliged to conclude that Elizabeth really spoke with these intricate and strange involutions. A date upon the *MS.*, April 10, 1563, fixes the occasion on which the speech was delivered.



to have power to examine into the spiritual condition of their parishioners ; to admonish them if their state was unsatisfactory ; to excommunicate them if admonition failed ; and excommunication to mean the loss of civil rights, imprisonment, fine, and the secular arm. Adulterers and fornicators were to be put to open shame, flogged at the cart's tail, banished or imprisoned for life ; and moral offences generally were to be dealt with by similar means.

It was no doubt well that English people should understand the faith which they professed ; it was well that they should be prevented so far as possible from committing sin ; but it would not perhaps have contributed in the long run to the end desired, if the clergy had been again empowered to deal with these things in their own peculiar manner.

This last ambition was quenched and did not reappear. Six formulas committing the Church to ultra-Protestantism were lost by the near majority of fifty-nine to fifty-eight, while the discussion generally resulted in the restoration of thirty-nine of the original forty-two articles of Edward as a rule of faith for the clergy. The Bishop of Worcester introduced a measure to prevent his order from making away with the Church property. Petitions were presented for a more strict observance of Sunday, which came to nothing. This in the main was the work aimed at or accomplished by convocation : more moderate than might have been expected from the spirit in which the session had opened. The clergy were learning their position, and as a body were willing to work heartily on the narrow platform to which their pretensions had been limited. They too disappeared with the Parliament, and the Queen was left to extricate herself as she could from the embroglio in France.

Although she knew nothing of the overtures of the Scots to Spain, there was much in Philip's attitude which was seriously menacing. His Relations with France. ambassador in Paris was advising the Government to refuse the restoration of Calais, while he himself professed to Chaloner his hope that England would recover it. Many thousand Spaniards were serving in the French army, while more were preparing to join them; and it seemed as if his chief anxiety was to stimulate the war.

The King of Spain had deeply resented the treatment of his ambassador. The Bishop of Aquila, he told Elizabeth, had been placed in England to preserve the alliance between his subjects and hers; and in what he had done had but obeyed the orders which he had received with his appointment.<sup>1</sup> Gresham reported from Flanders, as the belief on the Bourse, that "there would be much ado with the summer for religion, when King Philip would disturb all he could to maintain Papistry;" and Gresham's own uniform advice to Elizabeth was to buy saltpetre, cast cannon, and build ships.<sup>2</sup>

More important and far more alarming was the likelihood of a peace in France, in which England, as the phrase went, "was to be left out at the cart's tail." To the extent to which Elizabeth had been seeking objects of her own behind her affectation of a desire to help the Huguenots, the Huguenot leaders felt themselves entitled to desert her could they obtain the toleration which was of moment to themselves. Elizabeth had been ready to sacrifice them could she recover Calais by it. The Prince of Condé must have felt his conscience easy in repaying her in her own coin.

<sup>1</sup> Philip II. to Elizabeth, April 2, 1563: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Gresham to Cecil, March 21: *Flanders MSS.*

On the 7th of March Sir Thomas Smith believed that he had obtained what Elizabeth wanted; and that he would have peace and Calais in a month.<sup>1</sup> The Queen-mother had been ingeniously deluding him, that she might have evidence of treachery to lay before Condé, whom on the 8th of the same month she met with the Constable on an island in the Loire.

The eclipse of the Guises enabled the interest of France once more to be preferred to the interest of Rome. Catherine offered Condé his brother's place as Lieutenant-General, with a moderate toleration — something perhaps in advance of that of which Elizabeth had advised the acceptance — for the Calvinists. The Calvinists should pray to God as they pleased if they would cease to molest the Catholics. The "strangers" on both sides should be sent home; the Spaniards should retire from the south, the English should evacuate Normandy. The Prince had promised Elizabeth that he would agree to no terms without giving her notice — and he kept his word. He wrote both to her and to Sir Thomas Smith, saying that he had taken arms for the freedom of conscience, which was now conceded; he assumed, without mentioning Calais, that Elizabeth had assisted him for the same object; and the object being secured there was no longer occasion for continuing the war.<sup>2</sup>

In vain Elizabeth required him to remember his honour and promise; in vain she bade him beware "how he set an example of perfidy to the world." She was

but receiving the measure which she had prepared for her allies. Peace was signed in

Peace of  
Amboise.

<sup>1</sup> Smith to Cecil, March 7; Forbes, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Condé to Elizabeth, March 8; Condé to Sir T. Smith, March 11; *Ibid*

France on the 25th of March, and notice was sent to Warwick that the purpose of the war being happily accomplished, he was expected to withdraw from Havre.<sup>1</sup>

The Prince however was unwilling to press matters to extremity. On the 8th of April he protested in a second and more gracious message, that neither by him nor by the Admiral had the town been placed in English hands; but he offered in the name of himself, the Queen-Regent, and the entire nobility of France, to renew solemnly and formally the clause in the treaty of Cambray for the restoration of Calais in 1567; to repay Elizabeth the money which she had lent him, and to admit the English to free trade and intercourse with all parts of France.

Could Elizabeth have temperately considered the value of these proposals she would have hesitated before she refused them; but she was irritated at having been outwitted in a transaction in which her own conduct had not been pure. The people, with the national blindness to everything but their own injuries, were as furious as the Queen. The garrison at Havre was only anxious for an opportunity of making "the French cock cry cuck."<sup>2</sup> They promised Elizabeth that "the least molehill about her town should not be lost without many bloody blows;" and when a few days later there came the certainty that they would really be besieged, they prayed "that the Queen would bend her brows and wax angry at the shameful treason;" "the Lord Warwick and all his people would spend the last drop of their blood before the French should fasten a foot in the town."<sup>3</sup>

Elizabeth  
refuses to  
evacuate  
Havre.

<sup>1</sup> Warwick to the Council, March 31: Forbes, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Pelham to Throgmorton, April 5: *Conway MSS.*

<sup>3</sup> Same to same, April 15: *MS. Ibid.*

The French inhabitants of Havre had almost settled the difficulty for themselves. Feeling no pleasure, whatever they might affect, in having "their antient enemies" among them, they opened a correspondence with the Rhingrave. A peasant passing the gates with a basket of chickens was observed to have something under his clothes. A few sheets of white paper was all which the guard could discover; but these when held to the fire revealed a conspiracy to murder Warwick and admit the French army.<sup>1</sup> The townspeople, men, women, and children, were of course instantly expelled; and the English garrison in solitary possession worked night and day to prepare for the impending struggle.

It was with no pleasure that Condé felt himself obliged to turn against Elizabeth the army which her own money had assisted him to raise. She had answered his proposals by sending to Paris a copy of the articles which both the Prince and the Admiral had subscribed. "No one thing," she said, "so much offended her as their unkind dealing after her friendship in their extremity;" while Sir Thomas Smith, on the other side, described Condé as a second King of Navarre going the way of Baal Peor, and led astray by "Midianitish women." Yet had Elizabeth's own dealings been free from reproach, it was impossible for Condé, had he been ever so desirous of it, to make the immediate restoration of Calais a condition of the peace. Had the war been fought out with the support of England in the field till the Catholics had been crushed, even then his own Huguenots would scarcely have permitted the surrender. Had he held out upon it when the two factions were left standing so evenly balanced, he

<sup>1</sup> Henry King to Chaloner: *Spanish MSS.*

would have enlisted the pride of France against himself and his cause, and identified religious freedom with national degradation. Before moving on Havre he made another effort. He sent M. de Bricquemaut to explain his position and to renew his offers enlarged to the utmost which he could venture. The young King wrote himself also accepting Elizabeth's declaration that her interference had been in no spirit of hostility to France, entreating that she would continue her generosity, and peace being made, recall her forces.<sup>1</sup> The ratification of the treaty of Cambray was promised again, with "hostages at her choice" for the fulfilment of it, from the noblest families in France.

But it was all in vain. Elizabeth at first would not see Bricquemaut. She swore she would have no dealings with "the false Prince of Condé," and desired, if the French King had any message for her, that it should be presented by the ambassador Paul de Foix. When De Foix waited on her with Charles's letter she again railed at the Prince as "a May. treacherous, inconstant, perjured villain."<sup>2</sup> De Foix, evidently instructed to make an arrangement if possible, desired her if she did not like the Prince's terms to name her own conditions, and promised that they should be carefully considered. At first she would say nothing. Then she said she would send her answer through Sir Thomas Smith; then suddenly she sent for Bricquemaut, and told him that "her rights to Calais being so notorious, she required neither hostages nor satisfaction; she would have Calais delivered over; she would have her money paid down; and she would keep Havre till both were in her hands.

<sup>1</sup> Charles IX. to Elizabeth, April 30: Forbes, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> De Quadra to Philip, May 9: *MS. Sinqueus*.

Bricquemaut withdrew, replying briefly that if this was her resolution she must prepare for war. Once more De Foix was ordered to make a final effort. The Council gave him the same answer which Elizabeth had given to Bricquemaut. He replied that the English had no right to demand Calais before the eight years agreed on in the treaty of Cambray were expired. The Council rejoined that the treaty of Cambray had been broken by the French themselves, in their attempt to enforce the claims of Mary Stuart; that the treaty of Edinburgh remained unratified; and that the fortifications at Calais and the long leases by which the lands in the Pale had been let, proved that there was and could be no real intention of restoring it; "so that it was lawful for the Queen to do any manner of thing for the recovery of Calais; and being come to the quiet possession of Havre without force or any other unlawful means, she had good reason to keep it."<sup>1</sup>

On Bricquemaut's return Catherine de Medici lost not a moment. The troops of the Rhingrave, which had watched Havre through the spring, were reinforced. The armies of the Prince and of the Guises lately in the field against each other were united under the Constable, and marched for Normandy.

In England ships were hurried to sea; the western counties were allowed to send out privateers to pillage French commerce; and dépôts of provisions were established at Portsmouth, with a daily service of vessels between Spithead and the mouth of the Seine. Recruits for the garrison were raised wherever volunteers could be found. The prisoners in Newgate and the

<sup>1</sup> "A conference between the French King's ambassador and certain of her Majesty's Council, June 2." — *Comoy MSS.*, Cecil's hand.

Fleet—highwaymen, cutpurses, shoplifters, burglars, horse-stealers, “tall fellows” fit for service—were drafted into the army in exchange for the gallows;<sup>1</sup> and the Council determined to maintain in Havre a constant force of six thousand men and a thousand pioneers, sufficient it was hoped, with the help of the fleet and the command of the sea, to defy the utmost which France could do.

Every day there was now fighting under the walls of the town, and the first successes were with the English. Fifty of the prisoners taken at <sup>Siege of</sup> Havre. Caudebècque, who had since worked in the galleys, killed their captain and carried their vessel into Havre. A sharp action followed with the Rhingrave, in which the French lost fourteen hundred men, and the English comparatively few.

Unfortunately young Tremayne was among the killed, a special favourite of Elizabeth, who had distinguished himself at Leith, the most gallant of the splendid band of youths who had been driven into exile in her sister's time, and had roved the seas as privateers. The Queen was prepared for war, but not for the cost of war. She had resented the expulsion of the French inhabitants of Havre; she had “doubted” if they were driven from their homes “whether God would be contented with the rest that would follow;”<sup>2</sup> she was more deeply affected with the death of Tremayne; and Warwick was obliged to tell her that war was a rough game; she must not discourage her troops by finding fault with measures indispensable to success; for Tremayne, he said, “men came there to venture their lives for her Majesty and their country, and must

<sup>1</sup> *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz., Vol. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> The Queen to Warwick, May 22: Forbes, Vol. II.



stand to that which God had appointed either to live or die." <sup>1</sup>

The English had a right to expect that they could hold the town against any force which could be brought against them; while the privateers, like a troop of wolves, were scouring the Channel and chasing French traders from the seas. One uneasy symptom alone betrayed itself: on the 7th of June Lord Warwick reported that a strange disease had appeared in the garrison, of which nine men had suddenly died. <sup>2</sup>

A strange  
disease ap-  
pears in  
Havre.

But the intimation created little alarm. For three more weeks the English court remained sanguine, and talked not only of keeping Havre, but of carrying the war deeper into Normandy. "I was yesterday with the Queen," wrote De Quadra on the 2d of July. "She said she was about to send six thousand additional troops across the Channel, and the French should perhaps find the war brought to their own doors. Cecil and the Admiral said the same to me. They have fourteen ships well armed and manned besides their transports, and every day they grow more eager and exasperated." <sup>3</sup>

But on that day news was on the way which abridged these large expectations. "The strange disease" was the plague; and in the close and narrow streets where seven thousand men were packed together amidst foul air, and filth, and summer heat, it settled down to its feast of death. On the 7th of June it was first noticed; on the 27th the men were dying at the rate of sixty a-day; "those who

The disease is  
the plague.

<sup>1</sup> Warwick to Cecil, June 9: *Domestic MS.*

<sup>2</sup> Same to same, June, 7: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> De Quadra to the Duchess of Parma, July 2: *MS. Simancas.*

fell ill rarely recovered ; the fresh water was cut off, and the tanks had failed from drought. There was nothing to drink but wine and cider : there was no fresh meat, and there were no fresh vegetables. The windmills were outside the walls and in the hands of the enemy ; and though there was corn in plenty the garrison could not grind it. By the 29th of June the deaths had been five hundred. The corpses lay unburied or floated rotting in the harbour. The officers had chiefly escaped ; the common men, worse fed and worse lodged, fell in swathes like grass under the scythe, and the physicians died at their side.

The Prince of Condé notwithstanding the last answer to De Foix had written on the 26th of June a very noble letter to Elizabeth. "To prevent war," he said, "the King and Queen, the Princes of the blood, the Lords of the Council, the whole Parliament of Paris would renew the obligation to restore Calais at the eight years' end. It was an offer which the Queen of England could accept without stain upon her honour, and by agreeing to it she would prove that she had engaged in the quarrel with a chief eye to the glory of God and the maintenance of the truth."<sup>1</sup>

Condé once  
more offers  
terms which  
Elizabeth  
rejects.

Elizabeth had fiercely refused ; and when this terrible news came from Havre she could not — would not — realize its meaning. She would send another army, she would call out the musters, and feed the garrison from them faster than the plague could kill. Cost what it would, Havre should be held. It was but a question of men, money, and food ; and the tarnished fame of England should be regained.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Condé to Elizabeth, June 26: Forbes, Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> The Council to Warwick, June 29; Elizabeth to Warwick, July 4: Forbes

And worse and worse came the news across the water. When June ended, out of his seven thousand men, Warwick found but three thousand fit for duty, and the enemy were pressing him closer, and Montmorency had joined the Rhingrave. Thousands of working men were throwing up trenches under the walls, and thousands of women were carrying and wheeling earth for them. Of the English pioneers but sixty remained alive, and the French cannon were already searching and sweeping the streets. Reinforcements were hurried over by hundreds and then by thousands. Hale vigorous English countrymen they were landed on that fatal quay: the deadly breath of the destroyer passed upon them, and in a few days or hours they fell down and there were none to bury them, and the commander could but clamour for more and more and more.

On the 11th of July but fifteen hundred men were left. In ten days more at the present death rate, Warwick said he would have but three hundred alive.<sup>1</sup> All failed except English hearts. "Notwithstanding the deaths," Sir Adrian Poynings reported, "their courage is so good as if they be supplied with men and victual they trust by God's help yet to withstand the force of the enemy, and to render the Queen a good account thereof."<sup>2</sup> Those who went across from England, though going as they knew to all but certain death, "kept their high courage and heart for the service."<sup>3</sup>

Ship after ship arrived at Havre with its doomed freight of living men, yet Warwick wrote that still

<sup>1</sup> Warwick to the Council, July 11: Forbes, Vol. II. Endorsed "Haste! post haste for thy life! Haste, haste, haste!"

<sup>2</sup> Sir Adrian Poynings to Cecil, July 6: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz.

<sup>3</sup> Same to same, July 9: *Ibid.*

his numbers waned, that the new comers were not enough to repair the waste. The ovens were broken with the enemy's shot, the bakers were dead of the plague. The besiegers by the middle of the month were closing in upon the harbour mouth. A galley sent out to keep them back was shot through and sunk with its crew under the eye of the garrison. On the 19th their hearts were cheered by large arrivals, but they were raw boys from Gloucestershire, new alike to suffering and to arms. Cannon had been sent for from the Tower, and cannon came, but they were old and rusted and worthless. "The worst of all sorts," wrote Warwick, "is thought good enough for this place." It was the one complaint which at last was wrung from him.

To add to his difficulties the weather broke up in storms. Clinton had twenty sail with him, and three thousand men ready to throw in. If the fleet could have lain outside the harbour the ships' guns could have kept the approaches open. But a southwest gale chained Clinton in the Downs; the transports which sailed from St. Helen's could not show behind the island, and there was a fear that the garrison, cut off from relief, might have been overpowered in their weakness and destroyed.

Too late for the emergency, and still with sullen unwillingness to yield, the Queen on the 20th sent over Throgmorton to accept Condé's terms. But the French court was with the besieging army, and knew the condition of Warwick's troops too well to listen. The harbour was by that time closed; the provisions were exhausted; the French understood their power and meant to use it. Warwick, ordered as he had been to hold the place under all conditions, "was prepared to

die sword in hand " rather than surrender without the Queen's permission ; but in a few days at latest, those whom the sword and pestilence had spared famine would make an end of. Fortunately Sir Francis Knowles, who was in command at Portsmouth, had sent to the court to say that they must wait for no answer from France ; they must send powers instantly to Warwick to make terms for himself. A general attack had been arranged for the morning of the 27th. Lord Warwick knew that he would be unable to resist, and with the remnant of his men was preparing the evening before to meet a soldier's death, when a boat stole in with letters, and he received Elizabeth's permission to surrender at the last extremity.

War, plague, and storm had done their work and had done it with fatal efficacy. Clinton was chafing helplessly at his anchorage " while the French were lying exposed on the beach at Havre." He could not reach them, and they could but too effectually reach Warwick. Knowing that to delay longer was to expose the handful of noble men who survived with him to inevitable death, and himself wounded and ill, the English general sent at once to the Constable to make terms. The Constable would not abuse his advantage, and on the 29th of July Havre was restored to France, the few English troops remaining being allowed to depart with their arms and goods unmolested and at their leisure.

The day after the weather changed, and Clinton arrived to find that all was over, and that Warwick himself was on board a transport ready to sail. The Queen-mother sent M. de Lignerolles on board Clinton's ship to ask him to dine with her. He excused himself under the plea that he could not leave his

men ; but he said to De Lignerolles " that the plague of deadly infection had done for them that which all the force of France could never have done." <sup>1</sup>

Thus ended this unhappy enterprise in a disaster which, terrible as it seemed, was more desirable for England than success. Elizabeth's favouring star had prevented a conquest from being consummated which would have involved her in interminable war. Had it not been for the plague she might have held Havre ; but she could have held it only at a cost which before many years were over would have thrown her an exhausted and easy prey at the feet of Philip.

The first thought of Warwick, ill as he was, on reaching Portsmouth was for his brave companions. They had returned in miserable plight, and he wrote to the Council to beg that they might be cared for. But there was no occasion to remind Elizabeth of such a duty as this : had she been allowed she would have gone at once at the risk of infection to thank them for their gallantry.<sup>2</sup> In a proclamation under her own hand she commended the soldiers who had faced that terrible siege to the care of the country ; she entreated every gentleman, she commanded every official, ecclesiastical or civil, in the realm to see to their necessities " lest God punish them for their unmercifulness ;" she insisted with generous forethought " that no person should have any grudge at those poor captains and soldiers because the town was rendered on conditions ;" " she would have it known and understood that there wanted no truth, courage, nor manhood in any of them from the highest to the lowest ;" " they would

<sup>1</sup> Clinton to Cecil, July 31: *Domestic MSS.*, Eliz.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Robert Dudley to the Queen, August 7: *Domestic MSS.*, Vol. XXIX.

have withstood the French to the utmost of their lives ; but it was thought the part of Christian wisdom not to tempt the Almighty to contend with the inevitable mortal enemy of the plague." <sup>1</sup>

Happy would it have been had the loss of Havre ended the calamities of the summer. But the garrison scattering to their homes carried the infection through England. London was tainted already, and with the heat and drought of August the pestilence in town and village held on its deadly way.

August.  
The garrison  
of Havre  
spreads the  
plague in  
England.

The eruption on the skin which was usual with the plague does not seem to have attended this visitation of it. The first symptom was violent fever, burning heat alternating with fits of shivering ; the mouth then became dry, the tongue parched, with a pricking sensation in the breast and loins ; headache followed and languor, with a desire to sleep, and after sleep came generally death, "for the heart did draw the poison, and the poison by its own malice did pierce the heart." When a man felt himself infected "he did first commend himself to the highest Physician and craved mercy of him." Where he felt pain he was bled, and he then drank the "aqua contra pestem" — the plague water — buried himself in his bed, and if possible perspired. To allay his thirst he was allowed sorrel-water and verjuice, with slices of oranges and lemons. Light food — rabbit, chicken or other bird — was taken often and in small quantities. To prevent the spread of the contagion the houses and streets and staircases were studiously cleaned ; the windows were set wide open and hung with fresh, green boughs of oak or willow ; the floors were strewed with sorrel,

<sup>1</sup> Proclamation by the Queen, August 1: *Domestic MSS.*

lettuce, roses, and oak leaves, and freely and frequently sprinkled with spring water, or else with vinegar and rose-water. From cellar to garret, six hours a day, the houses were fumigated with sandalwood and musk, aloes, amber, and cinnamon. In the poorest cottages there were fires of rosemary and bay. Yet no remedy availed to prevent the mortality, and no precaution to check the progress of the infection. In July the deaths in London had been two hundred a week; through the following month they <sup>Mortality in London.</sup> rose swiftly to seven hundred, eight hundred, a thousand, in the last week of the month to two thousand; and at that rate, with scarcely a diminution, the people continued to die till the November rains washed the sewers and kennels clean, and the fury of the disorder was spent.

The Bishops attributing the calamity to supernatural causes, and seeing the cause for the provocation of the Almighty in the objects which excited their own displeasure, laid the blame upon the theatres, and petitioned the Government to inhibit plays and amusements.<sup>1</sup> Sir William Cecil, not charging Providence till man had done his part, found the occasion rather in the dense crowding of the lodging-houses, "by reason that the owners and tenants for greediness and lucre did take unto them other inhabitants and families to dwell in their chambers;" he therefore ordered that "every house or shop should have but one master and one family," and that aliens and strangers should remove.<sup>2</sup>

The danger alarmed the Council into leniency towards the state prisoners. The Tower was emptied.

<sup>1</sup> Grindal to Cecil, February 22, 1564: *Lansdowne MSS.* 7

<sup>2</sup> Sir Wm. Cecil's Injunction: *MS.* Ibid.



The Catholic prelates were distributed among the houses of their rivals and successors; Lady Catherine Grey was committed to the charge of her father's brother, broken in health, heart, and spirit, praying but praying in vain, that "her lord and husband might be restored to her," and pining slowly towards the grave into which a few years later she sank.<sup>1</sup>

The victims who died of the plague were chiefly obscure; one person however perished in it whose disappearance the reader will perhaps regret.

The story must go back for a few pages.

The King of Spain, after receiving De Quadra's letter which contained the proposals of the Queen of Scots for the Prince of Spain, took time to consider his answer, and at length on the 15th of June replied as follows:—

PHILIP II. TO THE BISHOP OF AQUILA.

June 15.

"I have pondered over the conversation which has passed between you and Maitland on the marriage between his mistress and the Prince my son, and I am much pleased with the discretion which you showed in your replies.

"Perceiving as I do that if this marriage can be brought about, it may be the beginning of a better state of things in England, I am willing to admit the consideration of it; and if you believe that those who have spoken with you on the subject are persons whom you can trust, you will use their assistance to bring the thing about.

June.  
Philip con-  
sents to the  
marriage  
between  
Mary  
Stuart and  
Don Carlos.

"You will learn from Maitland and from the Queen

<sup>1</sup> Letters of Lord John and Lady Catherine Grey: *Iansdowne MSS.*

of Scots what friends they most rely upon in England. You will judge whether the names which they mention are of sufficient weight, and you will at once communicate with me. Above all you will be secret, for the good to be looked for depends on the marriage being completed before anything is heard of it. If the French know that I have given my consent, there is no step to which their fears will not drive them to prevent the consummation of it, or if we persist in spite of them, to hinder the good fruit which may be otherwise looked for. As to the Queen of England and the heretics, you can imagine for yourself what they are likely to do. You must therefore be most cautious with whom you speak on the subject, and in your choice of agents through whom to communicate with the Queen of Scotland.

"The Emperor also you will observe, after what has passed between the Cardinal of Lorraine and himself,<sup>1</sup> can know nothing of the wishes of the Queen of Scots herself or of her subjects; he looks on his son's affair as already settled; and I may say for myself that were there any likelihood of that marriage taking effect I should prefer it to the other.<sup>2</sup> I should not move in the matter at all till the Emperor was undeceived, were it not for what you tell me of the unwillingness of that Queen and her advisers to accept the Archduke, and of the small advantage which they anticipate from the Austrian connexion.

<sup>1</sup> The Cardinal of Lorraine, in a personal interview with Ferdinand, had proposed a marriage between his niece and the Archduke Carlos.

<sup>2</sup> A note in the margin of the letter, in Philip's autograph, shows his extreme slowness and caution:—"De punto en punto me vieis avisando de lo que en esto pasará, sin venir á convencion ninguna; mas de entender lo que arriba se dice, hasta que yo os revise de lo que en ello se me officiese y se hubiese de hacer; aunque podreis asegurarlos que mi intencion es la que aquí se dice."

"I am alarmed especially at the possibility of her marrying a French King again, for I cannot but remember the trouble which her last alliance in that quarter occasioned me. Should she marry in that quarter, I know but too well that at no distant time I shall be forced into war to protect the Queen of England from an invasion such as was intended before ; and you can judge yourself whether that is an event to which I can look with pleasure.

"You will ascertain what support the Scots can count upon in England, and you will not prevent them from increasing their party ; but you will not involve yourself with any particular person further than you have already done. Let them do the work by themselves ; let them gain what friends they can among the Catholics and others whom they trust. If anything is discovered it must be their affair and not mine.

"As for what you say of the dependence of the English Catholics upon me, I am anxious to do the very utmost which I can for them. You will animate and console them as usual ; only of all things in the world you must be careful not to let your own hand be seen. You know what would follow.

"I am very sorry for the Act which the Queen has obtained from Parliament against those who will not accept her as Head of the Anglican Church. The bishops and other Catholics are now in danger of death. They have begun already you tell me with the Bishop of London.

"I am glad to hear that the Emperor has remonstrated, though I fear it will do little good. I have myself also written to the Queen ; and you will yourself do and say whatever promises to be most effective to make them change their purpose. I know that I

can depend on you in this, feeling as you do so acutely about it." <sup>1</sup>

To Philip's letter a few lines were added by the Duke of Alva :

ALVA TO THE BISHOP OF AQUILA.

June 16.

"Although his Majesty in his own letter has told you how important it is to be secret in the affair of the marriage of the Queen of Scots, I cannot but myself reiterate the same caution. The world must know nothing till all is actually over, or no good will come of it.

"You will therefore charge those with whom you have to deal to allow no hint of our purpose to transpire. You will let us know step by step how the negotiation proceeds, and his Majesty will take measures accordingly."

No answer could have promised better for Mary Stuart's hopes ; but it had been long in coming, and the diplomacy of conspiracy was restless and feverish. Maitland after his visit to France returned to London in July to learn what De Quadra had heard. He had as yet heard nothing, and Mait-

July.

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand, immediately on the passing of the Act, wrote to beg that no violence might be used towards the Catholic bishops. The ingenuity of the lawyers might have been less successful had not Elizabeth been able to shield herself behind Ferdinand's and Philip's letters. Archbishop Parker also lent his assistance. In a circular to his brother bishops he desired them, with the Queen's and Cecil's connivance, not to offer the oath to any one a second time without referring to himself; "not," he said, "that he had warrant to stay the execution of impartial laws," but being ready "to jeopard his private estimation if the purpose which the Queen would have done, might be performed." — *Strype's Life of Parker*, Vol. I. pp. 249, 250.

land's views meanwhile had been qualified by a conversation with Catherine de Medici. The Queen-mother as Philip had foreseen dreaded nothing so much as this Spanish marriage; and to prevent it she had promised that if the Queen of Scots would remain unmarried for two years, Charles the Ninth and the Crown of France would again be at her service. Construing Philip's silence unfavourably, Maitland allowed De Quadra to see that he thought well of the French connexion. In vain De Quadra spoke of the Archduke Carlos. Maitland would not hear of him unless with a distinct understanding that Philip would make his mistress Queen of England. It was yet possible too for the Queen of Scots to extort favourable terms from Elizabeth.

Before Maitland returned to Scotland, Elizabeth in her parting interview bade him tell Mary Stuart that if she married into the houses of Austria, France, or Spain, she would take it as an act of war.<sup>1</sup> She would prefer a marriage at home for her. But there were the Protestant Princes; there was the King of Denmark; there was the Duke of Ferrara: any one of these she might choose, or any French nobleman not of royal rank, and she should be named successor at once.

Maitland entered too far into these views for De Quadra's peace. He feared that Mary Stuart herself, in her passionate desire for recognition, might consent after all to some marriage detrimental to the interests of Catholicism,<sup>2</sup> and in dread of such a catastrophe,

<sup>1</sup> "No podría de dejarla de tener por enemiga." — De Quadra to Philip, June 26: *MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> "Es de temer que la golosina de ser declarada sucesora deste Reyno no haga aquella Reyna condescender en algun casamiento menos conveniente á las cosas de la religion." — *Ibid.*

and not trusting Maitland, the Spanish ambassador on his own responsibility sent an English friend to lay before her the wishes of the Catholics, and to assure her that whether she obtained the Prince of Spain, or accepted the Archduke Carlos, Philip in either case would support her claims in England by arms.<sup>1</sup>

At this crisis the letters of Philip and Alva reached London. De Quadra regretted that his commission was so cautiously worded; but he lost not a moment in despatching his own secretary, Luis de Paz, to Holyrood. As a blind to the English Government he sent him first to Chester under pretence of inquiring into the seizure of a Spanish ship by pirates. At Chester De Paz found that the pirates in question were Scots—and went on as if to seek redress at Edinburgh. There he saw Mary Stuart, Maitland, and Murray. His message was received with delight by all of them. The Queen of Scots wrote to the Duchess of Parma, relinquishing with eager gratitude every other prospect for herself. The Bishop of Ross hurried off to London to De Quadra to agree to all conditions which Philip might ask.<sup>2</sup> The long and dangerous labours of the indefatigable ambassador were at last it seemed about to prosper and bear fruit—when in the moment of success he was taken away. Luis de Paz returned to London on the 26th of August to find him dying. “He knew me,” Luis wrote, “and answered bravely when I spoke to him. He was grieved to end his services at a moment when he hoped to be of use. His last words were, ‘I can do no more.’”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Que tenga fuerzas para conseguir su derecho á este Reyno.”—*MS. Simancas*.

<sup>2</sup> Note of the mission of Luis de Paz to Scotland, by Diego Perez Mignet's *Life of Mary Stuart*. Appendix C.

<sup>3</sup> “No puedo mas.”—*Memoir of Luis de Paz: MS. Simancas*.

So died a good servant of a falling cause — faithful even unto death. The Bishop of Aquila had the character of his race and his profession. In the arts of diplomatic treachery he was an accomplished master. Untiring and unscrupulous, skilled in the subtle windings of the heart, he could stimulate the conscience into heroism, or play with its weakness till he had tempted it to perdition — as suited best with the ends which he pursued, with the steadiness of a sleuthhound. He would converse in seeming frankness from day to day with those whom with his whole soul he was labouring to blast into ruin. Yet he was brave as a Spaniard should be — brave with the double courage of an Ignatius and a Cortez. He was perfectly free from selfish and ignoble desires, and he was loyal with an absolute fealty to his creed and his King. It was his misfortune that he served in a cause which the world now knows to have been a wrong cause ; but qualifications in themselves neither better nor worse than those of Alvarez de Quadra won for Walsingham a place in the brightest circle of English statesmen.

How it might have fared with Mary Stuart and Don Carlos had De Quadra lived to complete the work for which he was so anxious, the curious in such things may speculate. The Prince of Spain had the intellect and the ferocity of a wolf ; the Queen of Scots had a capacity for relieving herself of disagreeable or inconvenient companions. Yet they would scarcely perhaps have made their lots more wretched than they actually were : we wonder at the caprices of fortune ; we complain of the unequal fates which are distributed among mankind — but Providence is more even-handed than it seems ; Mary Stuart might have been innocent and

August.  
Death and  
character of  
the Bishop  
of Aquila

happy as a fishwife at Leith ; the Prince of Spain might have arrived at some half-brutal usefulness breaking clods on the brown plains of Castile.

Philip's orders had been so well observed that no hints had transpired of what was intended. The Archduke Carlos was the supposed candidate in the Spanish and Imperial interest. The Cardinal of Lorraine had arranged the marriage with Ferdinand. It had been talked of in the Council of Trent. It had been argued upon in a Parliament which met at Edinburgh in the preceding June. The name of the Prince of Spain was mentioned from time to time, but rather as a vague surmise ; and the last thought which entered the mind of any one was that Philip would seriously substitute his son for his cousin. The Austrian match was the object of Elizabeth's fears ; and what she had said to Maitland she directed Randolph to submit formally to the Queen of Scots herself.

To settle the succession in some way, and if possible to settle it in Mary Stuart's favour, she said, was her most ardent desire. She had combated hitherto the wish of Parliament to disinherit Mary. On public grounds she was anxious for the union of the realms—and privately she considered the Queen of Scots' claim to be the best. But the Queen of Scots if she was to succeed to the English crown must make up her mind to accept the Reformation, if not as her own conviction yet as the public law of the realm. If she chose to marry a Catholic prince, if she chose to make herself the representative of a Catholic party and policy, Parliament would unquestionably renew the attempt to bar her title ; the country would not submit again

Elizabeth informs Mary Stuart of the conditions on which she may be recognized.



to the Pope and the Inquisition, and Elizabeth would herself be unable to take her part further.<sup>1</sup>

"She did not believe," Elizabeth continued — and the clause is in her own handwriting; "she did not believe that the Queen of Scots meant anything against herself;" and "she might perhaps be borne in hand that some number in England might be brought to allow" her general schemes. But she warned her sister not to be "abused" by foolishness. "If she tried that way she would come to no good." For both their own sakes and for the sake of both the countries she implored the Queen of Scots to avoid a course which might "become a perpetual reproof to both of them through all posterity." If she married the Archduke, England must and would accept that act as a declaration of hostility. If she would take advice which she might assure herself was well meant towards her, she would marry some one to whom no suspicion could be attached. Her title should then be examined, and should receive the fullest support which she herself could give it — "her own natural inclination being most given to further her sister's interest and to impeach what should seem to the contrary."

As to the person — an English nobleman would

<sup>1</sup> "To consider her own particular which in the way of friendship towards her we do most weigh, we do assure her by some present proof that we have in our realm, upon some small report made thereof (of the Austrian marriage). we well perceive that if we do not meddle and interpose her authority, it will not be long before it shall appear that as much as wit can imagine will be used to impeach her intention for the furtherance of her title. And considering the humours of such as mind — except our authority, or the fear of us shall stay them — their own particular, what can our sister think more hurtful to her than by this manner of proceeding by her friends that be not of her natural nation nor of her kingdom — first, to endanger the amity betwixt us; secondly, to dissolve the concord between the two nations; thirdly, to disappoint her of more then ever they shall recover." — Elizabeth to Randolph, August 20: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*

best please the English nation ; and measuring the attractiveness of the offer by her self-sacrifice in making it, Elizabeth said that " she could be content to give her one whom perchance it could be hardly thought she could agree unto." But she would not bind the Queen of Scots to this choice or to that ; England required only that she should not marry any one " of such greatness as suspicion might be gathered that he might intend trouble to the realm ; " she might take a husband where she pleased " so as he was not sought to change the policy " of the English nation, which it was certain " that they would in no wise bear."<sup>1</sup>

What right, it has been asked impatiently, had Elizabeth to interfere with Mary Stuart's marriage ? As much right, it may be answered, The right of Elizabeth to interfere. as Mary Stuart had to pretend to the succession to the English crown. Those who aspire to sovereignty must accept the conditions under which sovereignty can be held. The necessities of State which at the present day bar the succession of a Roman Catholic, were stronger a thousand fold when a Catholic sovereign might bring back with her the fires of Smithfield : and the fault of Elizabeth was rather in forbearing to insist upon a change of creed than in being willing to accept a successor with a less effective security for her harmlessness.

Nor was it Elizabeth only who had a right to be alarmed. Murray, Argyle, and Maitland had been led astray by vanity and idle ambition. In their eagerness to give a sovereign to England they had half lost their interest in the Reformation, or had closed their eyes

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to Randolph, August 20: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.* Matter committed to Thomas Randolph, August, 1563: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

to the dangers to which they exposed it. But there were those in Scotland to whom the truth of God was more than crowns and kingdoms—to whom the revolution which had passed over their country was too precious to be fooled away by courtiers' weakness or a woman's cunning. Knox knew as well as Mary knew the fruit which would follow if she married a Catholic prince. He had laboured to save Murray from the spell which his sister had flung over him; but Murray had only been angry at his interference, and "they spake not together familiarly for more than a year and a half."<sup>1</sup> The falling off of his friends threw the weight of the battle upon Knox. In "the Parliament time," when the Lords thinking then only of the Austrian Carlos, had been congratulating one another on

Knox protests against the marriage of the Queen of Scots with a Catholic.

the great match intended for their Queen, Knox rose in the pulpit at St. Giles's and told them all "that whenever they, professing the Lord Jesus, consented that a Papist should be head of their sovereign they did as far as in them lay to banish Christ from the realm; they would bring God's vengeance on their country, a plague on themselves, and perchance small comfort to their sovereign."

It was language which should not have been needed, for it was language which they should themselves have used. It was language which with the necessary change of diction any English statesman would have used from the Revolution till the present day. It contained but a plain political truth of which Knox happened to be the exponent.

Mary recognized her enemy. Him alone she had failed to work upon, and believing herself sure of the Lords she gave her anger its course.

<sup>1</sup> Knox's *History of the Reformation*.

In imagination Queen of Scotland, England, Ireland, Spain, Flanders, Naples, and the Indies — in the full tide of hope, and with the prize almost in her hands, she was in no humour to let a heretic preacher step between her and the soaring flights of her ambition. She sent for Knox, and her voice shaking between tears and passion, she said that never had prince been handled as she ; she had borne his bitterness, she had admitted him to her presence, she had endured to be reprimanded, and yet she could not be quit of him, “ she vowed to God she would be avenged.”

Quiet, collected — seeing through and through her, yet with a sound northern courtesy, the Reformer answered, that when it pleased God to open her eyes she would see that he had done nothing to offend her ; in private he had been silent ; “ in the preaching place ” he must obey God Almighty.

“ But what,” she asked, “ have you to do with my marriage ? ”

He said his duty was to preach the Evangel ; the nobility were so much addicted to her affections that they had forgotten their duty, and he was therefore bound to remind them of it.

“ But what,” she repeated, “ have you to do with my marriage ? what are you within this commonwealth ? ”

“ A subject born within the same, madam,” he replied ; “ and one whose vocation and conscience demands plainness of speech ; and therefore, madam,” he went on, “ I say to yourself what I spake in yonder public place — whenever the nobility shall consent that you be subject to an unfaithful husband, they renounce Christ and betray the realm.”

The Queen again sobbed violently.

Knox stood silent till she had collected herself. He then continued — “Madam, in God’s presence I speak; I never delighted in the weeping of any of God’s creatures; yea, I can scarcely abide the tears of my own boys whom my own hand corrects; but seeing I have but spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your Majesty’s tears rather than hurt my conscience.”

Soon after this conversation Randolph brought Elizabeth’s message. In his account of the interview he gives a noticeable sketch of Mary Stuart’s personal habits.

Active and energetic when occasion required, this all-accomplished woman abandoned herself to intervals of graceful self-indulgence. Without illness, or imagination of it, she would lounge for days in bed, rising only at night for dancing or music; and there she reclined with some light delicate French robe carelessly draped about her, surrounded by her ladies, her council, and her courtiers, receiving ambassadors and transacting business of state. It was in this condition that Randolph found her. She affected the utmost cordiality; she listened graciously to his communication; she professed herself grateful for Elizabeth’s interest in her; she desired him to be cautious to whom he spoke, and referred him for her answer to Maitland and Murray. But with all her address she could not conceal from him that more was intended than she allowed to appear. Her want of interest in the Austrian marriage was evident, and Randolph himself feared “she might be more Spanish than Imperial.”<sup>1</sup> A month later John Knox had discovered the secret, and made haste

Mary Stuart  
at Holyrood.

October.  
Knox warns  
Cecil

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, September 4: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

to tell Cecil what was impending. It was no Austrian prince on whom Mary's eyes were fixed. The King of Spain had consented to give her his son. The Queen of France offered her the hand of Charles the Ninth. She would take Don Carlos if Philip kept his word. If Don Carlos failed her she would take the French King. The majority of her Council had consented to what would be their own destruction, and "the greater part would before long draw the better after them." The Queen of England would be amused with smooth answers; but the mask would soon be laid aside. There was still hope of the constancy of the Earl of Murray. But if Murray followed the rest "the rage of the storm would overthrow the force of the strongest" — "all through the inordinate affection of her that was born to be a plague to the realm."

"Thus," Knox concluded, "you have the plainness of my troubled heart; use it as ye will answer to God and as ye tender the commonwealth; the Eternal assist you with His Spirit." <sup>1</sup>

In the midst of these encompassing perils Elizabeth bore herself bravely. The death-rate in London at the end of December was still two hundred a week; the country was smarting under the disaster at Havre; the French difficulty was likely to lead to a general war <sup>2</sup> in which Spain would take part; and Mary Stuart married to a Catholic prince formed the omi-

<sup>1</sup> Knox to Cecil, October 5: *Scotch MSS.* A postscript adds — "The Inch between Leith and Kinghorn is left void. What strange fowl shall first alight there God knoweth."

<sup>2</sup> "By many intelligences here, I see none other but war to ensue between us and the French King ere it be long. God send grace that King Philip's subjects be not also our enemies, for we suspect as much." — Francis Chaloner to Sir Thomas Chaloner, December 18: *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

nous centre round which the clouds were forming. Yet Elizabeth to the world appeared to be given up to amusement, caring for nothing but pleasure, and wasting her fondness upon idle and tawdry favourites. "The Queen," wrote Francis Chaloner to his brother, "thinks of nothing but her love affairs; she spends her days with her hawks and hounds, and her nights in dances and plays. Though all things go ill with England she is incapable of serious thought. The court is as merry as if the world were at our feet; and the ingenious fool who can devise the best means of trifling away time is the man most admired and prized."<sup>1</sup>

Yet Elizabeth was but concealing her real nature behind a mask of levity. Her spirits rose with trouble, and her high qualities were never more thoroughly awake.

Notwithstanding the struggle in Normandy, peace still existed in name between England and France; but Catherine demanded as an indemnity for the aggression on French territory a formal surrender of the English claim on Calais. Elizabeth answered that she would brave all consequences before she would submit "to that dishonour;"<sup>2</sup> and a declaration of war was daily expected. Philip had offered to mediate, but with the key to Philip's policy in her hand she left him unanswered till his ministers complained to her ambassador of her scanty courtesy;<sup>3</sup> and then for reply she

<sup>1</sup> "Regina tota amoribus dedita est, venationibusque aucupii choreis et rebus ludicris insumens dies noctesque; nihil serio tractatur, quanquam omnia adverse cedant; tamen jocamur hic, perinde ac si orbem universum debellati fuerimus. Et qui plures nugandi modos ridiculo studio excogitaverit, quasi vir summo pretio dignus suspicitur." — *Spanish MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth to Chaloner, December, 1563: *MS. Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Chaloner to Elizabeth, December 19: *MS. Ibid.*

bade Chaloner tell Philip that in her past difficulties, though he had many opportunities of helping her, she had received nothing from him but "good words;" he desired to have her at his feet, acting under his orders, and humbly petitioning for his support; but never in that position should Philip see her; she doubted whether a protracted residence of an ambassador at the Court of Spain was any longer expedient; she had half resolved to continue her diplomatic intercourse with him only through the Regent in Flanders; better an open enemy than a treacherous friend; if the worst came she could encounter it.<sup>1</sup>

December.  
She refuses  
Philip's  
offer of  
mediation  
between  
England and  
France.

In her bearing towards Mary Stuart she showed at the same time large forbearance and a clear foreseeing statesmanship. She knew the Queen of Scots' intentions beyond all uncertainty, but she still hoped to win her over to a safer course with the prospect of the succession;<sup>2</sup> while Mary Stuart on her part would not risk a quarrel till the Spanish affair had gone further. De Quadra's death had broken the link of her communication with Philip, and since the visit of Luis de Paz she had heard no more from him.

After a delay of some weeks she had replied to Randolph's message, thanking Elizabeth for her advice; to gain time and to avoid committing herself to a refusal, she desired to be told explicitly which of the many candidates for her hand would be "allowed" in Eng-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Chaloner; *Spanish MSS. Rolls House.*

<sup>2</sup> Luis Romano, who was left in charge at the Spanish embassy after De Quadra's death, wrote to Philip on the 3d of December that Elizabeth had been speaking of the marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Prince of Spain, and had said positively it should never be. "No, no!" "que no se hará." It was thought, he said, that she would tempt the Queen of Scots to give it up by the largeness of her offers on the other side. — *MS. Simancas.*



land and which would not ; and again with more distinctness what would be done for her if she married as Elizabeth wished.

It is quite certain that the Queen of Scots had no real intention of being guided by Elizabeth. Maitland had told De Quadra that she would not marry a Protestant even if her recognition was an accomplished fact. The inquiry therefore could only have been finesse.

November.  
Elizabeth  
again ad-  
dresses Mary  
Stuart. Elizabeth with less temptation to insincerity, replied "that the principal marriage which would make all other marriages fortunate, happy, and fruitful was the conjunction of the two countries and the two Queens ;" but she warned the Queen of Scots that "whatever mountains of felicity or worldly pomp" she might promise herself by going her own way, she would find her hopes in the end deceive her ; the fittest husband for her would be some English or Scottish nobleman ; but if she preferred to look elsewhere all Christendom was open, excepting only — as the Queen of Scots desired her to be explicit — the royal Houses of Spain, France, or Austria. A marriage into either of these could be construed only into a renewal of the schemes which she had entertained "in her late marriage with the French King ; but no other restriction should be placed upon her choice and no other difficulty raised." Elizabeth trusted only that her selection "might be such as should tend to the perpetual weal of the two kingdoms — the conjunction whereof she accounted the only marriage of continuance and blessedness — to endure after their own lives to posterity to the pleasure of Almighty God and the eternal renown of themselves as queens and good mothers of their countries."

To the last question of the Queen of Scots — what

should be done for her if she complied — Elizabeth answered that she would “proceed forthwith to the inquisition of her right by all good means in her favour; and finding it fall to her advantage, upon plain understanding had what manner of marriage she should make, she would proceed to the denunciation of her title as she would do for her own natural daughter.”<sup>1</sup>

It was long before Randolph was allowed an audience to give this second message. The Queen of Scots had quarrelled again with Knox, whom she attempted to provide with lodgings in Edinburgh Castle; the Lords had interfered, and anger and disappointment had made her ill.

Moreover she was still waiting for letters from Spain which would not arrive. She was waiting and would have long to wait; for the fire of resolution, no longer fanned by De Quadra's letters, had <sup>The Carlos project cools.</sup> grown faint again, and other schemes and other anxieties were distracting Philip's mind from Scotland. The death of Guise and the compromise between Condé and Catherine had destroyed the party which he had raised in France. Ferdinand of Austria was on the edge of the grave. There was a project for marrying the daughter of Maximilian, who would succeed to the empire, to Charles the Ninth; and this alliance might serve to renew the broken league among the Catholic powers, or at all events might relieve him of his fear that the prize might be secured by Mary Stuart. A grave difficulty lay in the character of Don Carlos himself. <sup>Character of Don Carlos.</sup> “The cruel and sullen disposition of the Prince of Spain” was becoming more dangerous as he grew towards manhood.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth to Randolph, November 17: *Cotton MSS., Calig. B. 10.*  
*Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

His brain had been hurt by a fall. His appetite was so furious that no gluttony could satisfy it. His passions were so violent that the King himself durst not thwart him lest he should die in the suffocation of his rage.<sup>1</sup> Such a youth was no promising subject of a matrimonial intrigue — no safe foundation on which to build a policy.

Towards England Chaloner described Philip as “uncertain whether the ancient league or present personal respects should most prevail with him.” The best-informed Spaniards held a war to be eventually inevitable; but they did not expect it immediately. The Pope was labouring to bring about a cordial action between the Catholic sovereigns, and it was thought he would eventually succeed; but the critical condition of Flanders — fermenting on the edge of rebellion — would probably postpone for the present the rupture with Elizabeth. Philip, Chaloner said, was “a prince of good disposition, soft nature, and given to tranquillity,” who if left to himself would leave England in peace; but Alva, Ruy Gomez, De Feria, and others by whom he was surrounded, were men of another temperament; and Elizabeth’s wellwishers in Spain advised her to make peace with France in time, and reserve her strength for the future struggle.<sup>2</sup>

The condition of Don Carlos, however, forbade the further mooted of the Scotch or any other marriage for him, and Mary Stuart’s hope of sharing the Crown of Spain, whatever else she might expect from Philip, faded away. It was necessary for her to turn her thoughts elsewhere; and uncertain what to do she at length admitted Randolph to her cabinet once more.

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of Sir Thomas Chaloner, December 19: *Spanish MSS.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

She was again in bed. It was after dinner. Murray, Maitland, Argyle, and a number of other noblemen were present.

"Now, Mr. Randolph," she said, kissing as she spoke a diamond heart — a present from Elizabeth — which hung about her neck; "Now, Mr. Randolph, I long to hear what answer you have brought me from my good sister. I am sure it cannot but be good."

Randolph delivered his message.

She listened without interest till he spoke of her recognition, when she became at once attentive. She expected however to hear some person named as the husband desired for her.

Mary Stuart,  
Randolph,  
and the  
Scotch  
Lords.

"You have more to tell me," she said; "let me hear all."

Randolph answered that his commission extended no further.

Lord Argyle approached the bed. "My Lord," she said to him, "Randolph here would have me marry in England. What say you?"

"Is the Queen of England become a man?" said Argyle.

"Who is there, my Lord," she said, "that you would wish me to marry?"

"Whoever your Majesty can like well enough," the Earl answered. "I would there was so noble a man in England as you could like."

"That would not please the Hamiltons," said the Queen.

"If it please God and be good for your Majesty's country," Argyle rejoined, "what matter it who is displeased?"

She passed the subject off.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Cecil, December 13, December 21, and December 30; Scotch MSS. Rolls House.

She dismissed Randolph without an answer, and weeks passed before she sent for him again. He spoke to Murray and Maitland, to all those lords who were under the deepest obligations to England, but they were cold and reserved.

"The Lord everlasting bring it to pass," he wrote to Elizabeth, "that we may rather rejoice in the birth of your Majesty's body before any other without the same, whom God may put in your heart to yield your right unto after your Majesty's days."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Randolph to Elizabeth, January 21, 1564: *Scotch MSS. Rolls House.*

NOTE TO VOL. VII., p. 479.

EXTRACT from the Sermon of Dr. Nowell made at the opening of Parliament, January 12, 1562-63, from a manuscript in the library of Caius College, Cambridge :—

“Furthermore, where the Queen’s Majesty of her own nature is wholly given to clemency and mercy, as full well appeareth hitherto; for in this realm was never seen a change so quiet and so long since reigning without blood (God be thanked for it); howbeit those which hitherto will not be reformed, but obstinate and can skill by no clemency or courtesy, ought otherwise to be used. But now will some say, ‘Oh, bloody man that calleth this the house of right, and now would have it made a house of blood.’ But the Scripture teacheth us that divers faults ought to be punished by death, and therefore following God’s precepts it cannot be accounted cruel; and it is not against this house, but the part thereof to see justice ministered to them who will abuse clemency. Therefore the goodness of Her Majesty’s clemency may well and ought now therefore to be changed to justice, seeing it will not help. But now to explicate myself, I say, if any man keeping his opinion, will, and mind close within himself, and so not open the same, then he ought not to be punished; but when he openeth it abroad then it hurteth and ought to be cut off: And specially if in anything it touch the Queen’s Majesty: for such errors or heresy ought not, as well for God’s quarrel as the realm’s, to be unlooked unto, for clemency ought not to be given to the wolves to kill and devour as they do the lambs, for which cause it ought to be foreseen; for that the Prince shall

answer for all that so perish, it lying in her power to redress it, for by the Scriptures murderers, breakers of the holy day and maintainers of false religion ought to die by the sword.

“Also some other sharpe laws for adultery, and also for murder more stricter than for felony — which in France is well used, as the wheel for the one, the halter for the other, which if we had here I doubt not within few years would save many a man’s life.”

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